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THE
CATHOLIC HISTORICAL
REVIEW

New Series, Vol. II

JULY, 1922

Number 2

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The Catholic Historical Review

NEW SERIES, VOLUME II

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RECENT ACTIVITIES OF CATHOLIC HISTORIANS¹

In ordinary times a paper on *Recent Activities of Catholic Historians* could have meant nothing more than a bibliographical survey or a critical enumeration of the writings of Catholic authors on the subject of ecclesiastical history during the preceding year or even the preceding six months. Such an approach to the matter is now impossible. The last four years have been lean years in historical bibliography. Historians may not have been idle; but they have concerned themselves more with the problems of the present than with the problems of the past. The output of historical works has been meagre. Our knowledge of them is more meagre still. We have not only been shut off, through the exigencies of war, from a large part of the world, but we have been deprived of the guidance of historical periodicals which would make it possible to give a complete survey of the actual conditions of historical writing and investigation at the present. Many of these periodicals have gone out of existence, others have been temporarily suspended, and many more have been inaccessible because of censorship regulations, while others have changed their character to such a degree that they hardly deserve the name of historical magazines.

These conditions have forced me to deal with the subject in a manner different from that which I first intended, and have compelled me, in order to remain within the scope of my title, to aim at giving an outline of the general lines of historical activity in which Catholics were engaged before the war, and the special

¹Paper read at the twelfth annual meeting of The American Society of Church History, Jan. 1918, and reprinted by courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

problems with which they busied themselves, and thus to reveal their aims and methods, rather than to attempt a critical examination of the writings of individual historians. This method of presentation, though it lies outside the ordinary, may not be without certain advantages.

The present time unquestionably brings to a decisive end a chapter in ecclesiastical historiography. For many reasons the future of historical writing will not be like the past. Many centres of historical activity can never return to their old state. Louvain, for instance, may be restored, but the new Louvain will not be the Louvain of former days. The German and Austrian schools and universities will, perhaps, flourish again, but their aims will be new and their spirit will be new. Oxford and Cambridge continue, but the new curriculum will not leave the old traditions unimpaired. Furthermore, the historian of the future will be confronted with a new set of problems, and he will be called on to make his contribution to the work of reconstruction and social adjustment. In addition, it is to be feared that the bitter racial and political animosities which have been aroused and which will not easily be allayed may invade the field of ecclesiastical historiography.

Hence what I shall have to say is a description of conditions which to a large extent no longer exist. What the future may have to offer I should not dare to conjecture. My aim will be to set forth in the time allowed to me some of the activities of Catholic historians which may be taken as a gauge of their general purposes and methods. Hence, instead of giving a list of the writings of Catholic authors, I shall call attention to three spheres of activity in which Catholics have busied themselves, and thus deal with the subject on its broad lines rather than in detail. Those spheres are: first, periodical literature, *i. e.*, historical magazines; secondly, publications of documentary and source material, together with encyclopedias; and thirdly, historical works which may be considered to have permanent value. The problem of choice in such a large mass of material is a difficult one, and I do not pretend that my classification is final, or my enumeration complete.

In regard to Catholic historical periodicals, there are some which are general in character and some which are special. Of the general historical periodicals the best known and perhaps

the most useful was the *Revue d' Histoire Ecclésiastique*, published under the editorship of Professor Cauchie at Louvain (Louvain, Bureaux de la Revue, 40 Rue de Namur, vols. i-xiii, 1900-1913). The fifteenth volume was in course of publication when the *Revue* was suspended on the capture of Louvain in 1914. The unique value of this review to the student of ecclesiastical history was found in the fact that, in addition to its articles and *comptes-rendus*, it contained a chronicle of the progress of historical studies and of the doings of historians in all countries, and a complete bibliography of historical publications classified under suitable headings, together with a list of book reviews and criticisms.

Another publication somewhat similar in character was the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (Paris, 1866-1914), which although devoted largely to French history, was of equal interest to the ecclesiastical historian, and usually contained very scholarly book reviews. For specialists in ecclesiastical history no review published by Catholics deserved to be more widely known than the *Revue Bénédictine* (Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgium, 1884-1914). In spite of its name it was general rather than special in character, though its pages were very largely devoted to studies in patrology and liturgy. The summary of current historical literature was always valuable. The *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* (Herder, Freiburg, Germany, since 1871), edited by the Jesuits, though it contains much of general theological interest, is principally historical in purpose and content. A useful guide to historical literature is the *Litterarische Rundschau für das Katholische Deutschland* (Herder, Freiburg, since 1875), edited by Professor Sauer of the University of Freiburg. The *Historisches Jahrbuch*, published by the Görres-Gesellschaft (Münster, since 1880), a periodical of more than ordinary merit, is marked by sound scholarship and critical accuracy. The *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck, since 1877), the *Revue du Clergé Français* (Paris, since 1895), the *Rivista Storico-Critica delle Scienze Theologiche* (Rome, since 1905), the *Irish Theological Quarterly* (Dublin, since 1906), and the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, published by the Catholic faculty of the University of Tübingen, are principally devoted to history or to theology on its historical side.

Under the heading "reviews of a special character" there

may be enumerated those which deal with the history of particular sections of the Christian world, with special departments of ecclesiastical life, or with special institutions. Among these there is the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (Paris, since 1901), devoted to the literature and history of the Oriental churches. It stands in the same relation to the *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium* that the *Neues Archiv* does to the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. The *Bessarione* (Rome, since 1897), owed its foundation to the interest of Leo XIII in Oriental studies and the Oriental churches. The *Échos d'Orient* (Paris, since 1897) is similar in many regards to the *Oriens Christianus*, which was taken over by the Görres-Gesellschaft in 1911 (Leipzig, New Series, 1911).

For the countries of western Christendom there are many publications of a national character such as the *Historisch-politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland*, published by the Görres-Gesellschaft (Munich, since 1838). *La Scuola Cattolica* (Milan, Fifth Series, 1911) deals mainly with Italian history. Holland has its *Nederlandsche Katolieke Stemmen* (Zwolle, since 1900) and *De Katholiek* (Utrecht, since 1836). In Spain *La Ciudad de Dios*, published by the Augustanians (Madrid, since 1880), and *Razon y Fe*, published by the Jesuit Fathers (Madrid, since 1901), though general in character and content, are valuable as guides to Spanish historical literature. The *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, organe de la Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de France* (Paris, since 1910) is a publication varied in contents and excellent in its summaries of historical activity. To replace the *Katholische Schweizerblätter*, the publication of which ceased in 1905, the Swiss Catholic Association founded the *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* (Freiburg, Switzerland, since 1906) to deal with the ecclesiastical history of Switzerland. The *Archivum Hibernicum*, or *Irish Historical Record* (Dublin, since 1912), founded by the Catholic Record Society to publish unedited documents on national history, especially the religious history of Ireland, and to provide better editions of badly edited texts, has already more than justified the purposes of its promoters. In Poland, the monthly review *Ateneum Kaplanskie** (Warsaw, since 1907) is published by the professors of the Catholic Seminary of Włosławek. In Roumania, the theological professors at the Seminary

of Blaj have published since 1911 *Cultura Crestina*,* a review of Catholic theology and history. In 1912 Mgr. Raymond Netzhammer, Archbishop of Bucharest, founded the *Revista Catolica** (Bucharest, since 1912), which, before the fateful summer of 1914, had been widely commended for the range and character of the articles it contained. Another review which received favorable comment was *S. Olaf*,* a Norwegian publication intended to deal with the ecclesiastical history of that country. A publication of interest only to specialists is *El-Machrig** ["The Orient"] (Beirut, since 1898), published by the Fathers at the Jesuit College in Beirut.

In our own country we have the *Catholic Historical Review* (Washington, D. C., since 1915), published at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., which aims primarily at dealing with the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, and above all to serve as a means whereby valuable historical material may be preserved and published.

Besides these publications of a national character there are others which deal exclusively with the history of more restricted areas, such as provinces or dioceses. Though the number of such reviews is very large, they can never have much interest for students in general. It may not be amiss, however, to mention *Acta et Dicta* (St. Paul, Minn., since 1907), published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, "to collect the historical data regarding the origin and growth of the Catholic Church in the Northwest." Two newcomers in this field are the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (Chicago, 1918), founded by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society to cover Catholic history in Illinois, and the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* (St. Louis, 1918), which has for its field Catholic history in the diocese of St. Louis.

Publications devoted to special departments of ecclesiastical history or to particular ecclesiastical institutions are, among others, the *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, since 1894), which aims at carrying on the work of the old *Bullettino*, with which the name of De Rossi was so long connected; and the *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthums-*

* Reviews marked with an asterisk I have not seen.

kunde und für Kirchengeschichte (Rome and Freiburg, since 1886), which is edited by the Roman Institute of the Görres-Gesellschaft. Christian art had its magazine in the *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* (Düsseldorf, since 1888), and the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (Paris-Lille, since 1875). The newly aroused interest in ecclesiastical music led to the foundation of the *Revue du Chant Grégorien* (Grenoble, since 1892), the *Revue Grégorienne* (Tournai, since 1911), and the magnificent *Paléographie Musicale* (Tournai, since 1889), published by the Benedictines of Solesmes.

The character and purpose of the *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, since 1882) are found in the title of the publication itself. It was a review maintained by the Society of Bollandists whose headquarters were at the Collège St. Michel in Brussels, and devoted exclusively to the subject of Christian hagiography. The unique character of the Society of Bollandists and their extraordinarily rich library made this review an invaluable guide to hagiographical writings and all cognate subjects. Church law and organization formed the principal topic in the pages of the *Revue Catholique des Institutions et du Droit* (Paris, Second Series, since 1890) and in the *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht* (Mainz, since 1857). The *Bulletin d'ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie* (Paris, since 1910) and the *Didaskaleion: Studi Filologici di Letteratura Christiana antica* (Turin, since 1912) were similar in scope and content. *Studi Romani: Rivista di Archeologiae Storia*, founded in Rome in 1913, was designed to be the organ of those especially interested in the archaeology and history of Rome.

Monasticism as represented in the various religious orders had its affairs well presented in the field of magazine literature. The Franciscans published at Florence the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (since 1908), an international review in which contributions are received in four languages and which deal with the Order at large. This is supplemented by the *Études Franciscaines* (Paris, since 1893). The Benedictines carry on in addition to the *Revue Bénédictine* and many other publications the *Rivista Storica Benedictina* (Rome, 1906), the *Studien und Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des Benedictinerordens und seiner Zweige* (Salzburg, since 1890). The Premonstratensians pub-

lished at Louvain the *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré* (Brussels, since 1906).

A mere enumeration of the titles of these reviews gives no idea of their contents and only a very slight indication of their character. Time, however, does not permit any discussion of the articles they contain nor of their critical value or standing.

Coming now to publications of source-materials and collections of texts and documents, we may venture to say that among those the most important and the most extensive is that known as the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. In this collection there is included a series of publications issued by the Gabaldà firm in Paris under the auspices of the Catholic University in Washington and the University of Louvain. When completed it will number about eight hundred volumes and will include practically all the Christian writings now extant in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Armenian. Up to the year 1912 the publication of these documents was carried on as a private undertaking by Drs. Chabot, Hyvernat, and Guidi. Knowing that they could not complete the project themselves, and fearing that it might lapse after their death, they appealed to the Universities at Washington and Louvain to assume the responsibility of carrying the work to a successful finish. The Universities under this plan were to assume the same responsibility for the publication of these volumes as the Academies of Vienna and Berlin had undertaken for their editions of the Latin and Greek Fathers respectively. No change was made in the editorial staff; but it is now assisted by two committees, one in Washington and one in Louvain. About eighty volumes have been published already, and many others are in course of preparation. The plan which has been followed in those publications is to issue two volumes for each work, one containing the text, the other a translation into Latin. Another undertaking of a like nature is the *Patrologia Orientalis* edited by Nau and Grafin, which also contains texts and translations of the writings of the Oriental Fathers. The translations in this latter case may be into a modern language, French, Italian, German, or English. Father Beccari, S.J., was more fortunate than his co-laborers in being able to bring his publication of Ethiopic texts to completion in his *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti, a Sæculo XVI ad XIX* (Paris, fifteen vols., with index).

Few departments of ecclesiastical history have received more attention than that of liturgy. Nevertheless, the crying need which had been so long felt for critical editions of liturgical texts led some Benedictine scholars to undertake the publication of the *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Liturgica*. Tomes I, V, and VI, entitled respectively, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ Vetustissimæ*, *Liber Ordinum de l'Église Mozarabe*, and *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, have already been published, and if they are an earnest of the volumes to come, it is sincerely to be hoped that the publication of the remaining texts, especially those of the Western Church, will not be delayed. Since 1896 the Fathers of the Society of Jesus have been engaged in writing the history of the Society from its foundation. The work was divided among different members of the order and is being prepared according to countries. Considerable progress has been made both with the history and with the publication of texts and sources. Its character may be judged by the volumes which Father Hughes, S.J., has brought out on the history of the Society of Jesus in North America. Without aiming at a complete enumeration of the collections of texts and documents published in recent years, we may mention the fine volumes of Papal Registers brought out by the French school in Rome, and Finke's publications of mediæval documents. Chevalier supplemented his researches in mediæval bibliography with the *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, which was issued as a supplement to the *Analecta Bollandiana*, while the Bollandists themselves in addition to a new volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* brought out their list of *Hagiographica Græsca et Latina*. The Mechitarist monks at San Lazaro in Venice continued their valuable series of Armenian texts, while fresh additions were being made to the *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capucinorum* and to the *Analecta Franciscana*. In France, Hemmer and Lejay had under way the publication of a series of texts of the early Fathers of which about ten volumes had appeared. The *Studi e Testi*, issued from the Vatican press has run into more than twenty numbers.

Encyclopedias are always a sure index of the tastes and the needs of any epoch. The quality of Catholic scholarship is very well revealed by many of the encyclopedias of recent date, among which may be named the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*

et de Liturgie, edited, and to no small degree, written by Dom Fernand Cabrol of the Benedictine Abbey of Farnborough. This elaborate undertaking, containing a series of archæological and liturgical studies of the most detailed character, had run into more than thirty *fascicules* when the work was interrupted. The *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, commenced under the editorship of Vacant and continued by Mangenot, though aiming primarily at the exposition of Catholic doctrine, was mainly historical in character. The *Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique*, published under the editorship of Adhemar d'Alés, is also mainly historical. The *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, published by Baudrillart and Vogt, was intended to supply a need in the field of history but more especially in that of historical geography that had long been felt by all historians of the Church. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, published in New York, though general in scope and character, has long since commended itself to historians and investigators.

Coming now to the third head of our classification, that of works on general church history and works of permanent merit from Catholic pens, very little need be said. Few manuals or text-books of special merit have appeared in recent years. The work of Marx, though it possesses much merit, will hardly supersede the older manuals in German by Kraus and Funk and Knöpfler. In Spain the work by Rivaz, and in France that of Marion, still seem to be most widely used. In France the publication of the *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, a series of monographs by different authors, of which about twenty have appeared, was a step towards a thoroughly reliable general history. Mourret's *Histoire Générale de l'Eglise* is a work of much merit, though perhaps too extensive for class-room purposes. The work by the Jesuit Father Albers, *Handboek der Algemeene Kerkgeschiedenis*, which has been translated into Latin and other languages, is a useful outline for class use. McCaffery in addition to his *History of the Church in the Nineteenth Century* has also written a very readable work, *The Church from the Renaissance to the Reformation*. Duchesne's *History of the Early Church* is a work for scholars rather than for beginners.

The lack of any striking advance in the writing of works on general history was counterbalanced by a series of excellent

special studies and treaties on particular topics, such as the *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, published at Münster; the *Quellen und Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, published at Paderborn; and the *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, published at Munich. Pastor undertook the editorship of a series of monographs to complete the *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* by Janssen (*Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*). Wilpert had in preparation his work on Christian Mosaics, to take its place along with his *Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*. To these may be added the *Mémoires et Travaux*, published by the professors of the Catholic faculty at Lille.

Many special treaties appeared in recent years which have the peculiar merit of embodying the definite conclusions of years of labor and research and of affording a sure starting-point for further investigation, such as Leclercq's *Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'au VIII^{me} siècle*, Batiffol's *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, and Kellner's *Heortologie oder die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Kirchenjahres und der Heiligenfeste*. Such works as these are not of course beyond criticism, but they mark a definite advance, inasmuch as they summarize so thoroughly the conclusions which were generally accepted when they were written.

Père Delehaye's book on the *Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography* clears up much that was obscure in this difficult field of investigation and is an excellent companion volume to the series of *Lives of the Saints* which is in course of publication by the Lecoffre firm in Paris. Adrian Fortescue's *The Mass*, a study of the Roman Liturgy, is also an excellent summary of the conclusions of generations of scholars. Braun's sumptuous volume, *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, is the most satisfactory presentation of the subject yet available and is remarkable as much for the reserve of the author as for its wealth of material. The whole story of asceticism in the Catholic Church is best approached through the study of monasticism and the religious orders. Heimbucher's *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche* is an indispensable guide through the maze of material which the subject has to offer. Bardenhewer's *Patrologie* and his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* may

also be taken as marking a definite advance in the study of the writings of the Fathers.

These names and this list of books have been chosen somewhat at haphazard and are not presented as being either complete or conclusive. A different list might have been selected; but my purpose will have been served if I can call attention, not to the range, but to the quality of scholarship among Catholic historians. It has of course been impossible within the time allotted to me to do more than to mention some names and some writings, but these may be taken as typical of the methods and purposes of the great mass of Catholic authors at the present. I should like to have called attention to the works of such men as Gasquet, Connolly, and Butler in England, Wilpert, Benigni, and Marucchi in Italy, Cauchie and his colleagues in Belgium, Battifol, Baudrillart, Goyau, Vacandard, and Duchesne in France, Schrörs, Pastor, Finke, Ehrhard, Künstle, Pfeilschifter, and others elsewhere; but the writings of these men are known to everybody here and they have already been rated according to their critical merits.

REV. PATRICK JOSEPH HEALY, D.D.,
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Washington, D. C.

THE PACTUM CALLIXTINUM AN INNOVATION IN PAPAL DIPLOMACY¹

The Laureate of the Augustan Age anathematizes the author who harks back to the story of Leda's eggs to account for the Trojan War. Yet, rhetorician's rules must be discarded when it is necessary to investigate the beginnings of an episode such as the Pactum Callixtinum and discuss it intelligibly.

The Pactum Callixtinum was an instrument which, according to certain historians, established a *via media* for the settlement of a long-standing quarrel between Henry V—the last of the Franconian Emperors—and Pope Callixtus II. It was concluded on September 23, 1122, at Worms, from which it derives the title under which it is best known.—The Concordat of Worms. We do not find the term "Concordat" in use, however, until the pontificate of Martin V (1418-1431) in a work by Nicholas de Cusa, entitled *De Concordantia Catholica*.

Though the Pactum Callixtinum was not the first ecclesiastical-politico *modus vivendi* of which there is record; yet it must be regarded as the first solemnly-enacted agreement made between the Papacy and a Civil Power. Thus it is differentiated from the London Agreement which adjusted the difficulties existing between Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and King Henry I (Beaumont).

Derivatively, a Concordat is a union of wills; but canonists are not agreed as to the exact meaning of the term. It may be described as a compact dealing with ecclesiastical affairs, made between the Pope as Head of Christendom and the ruler of a Catholic State. Its purpose is to terminate, or avert, dissension between the Church and the Civil Power. Its subject matter may be: (a) spiritual; (b) mixed; or (c) temporal. It is spiritual when the matter pertains exclusively to the spiritual order, v. g., liturgical observance, or the insertion of certain formulas in the service of the Church, such as we find in the Concordat with France in 1801, and later, in Concordats with Porto Rico, Guatemala, San Salvador, and Nicaragua. It is mixed, when

¹ Paper read at the Second Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, St. Louis, December 27-30, 1921.

it relates to things which of their own nature do not belong to the spiritual order, such as in the Concordat with Columbia, in 1887, regarding the taxation of ecclesiastical property and the private possessions of ecclesiastics.

It does not lie within our scope to discuss at length the canonical or the legislative nature of Concordats: we state merely that three theories have been propounded; the legalist; the compact; and the privilege.

I. The legalist theory does not admit that a Concordat has the force of a bilateral contract, since it assumes that the State is above the Church, and being supreme, it cannot make such an agreement with a subordinate body.

II. The compact theory on the contrary, regards a Concordat as a bilateral contract.

III. The privilege theory views a Concordat as lacking the force of a true contract and imposing an obligation on the Civil Power alone; while, on the part of the Church, it is merely a privilege granted by the Sovereign Pontiff. To enter further into this phase of the subject would be to enter upon a domain bearing on its portals the Dantean warning—*lasciate ogni speranza*. Moreover, our field is history.

To find the origin of the Pactum Callixtinum we must make an excursus into the realm of feudalism and review briefly the investiture quarrel which the Pact is said to have ended. Feudalism is a very illusive term. It cannot be defined; but we may describe it as an organization of society during the early Middle Ages through the medium of land tenure. It had its beginnings in the intermingling of barbarian usage and Roman Law.²

The same causes that produced in the later Roman Empire the disappearance of a middle class operated on the teutonized Latins and the latinized Teutons to develop the complete system of feudalism. These causes were: taxation; royal grants of folc-land; the capitularies of the Frankish kings; and international war. Its three distinguishing features were: territorial possession, or fief; vassalage; and the privilege of immunity. "The Middle Ages were essentially unpolitical. Ideas as familiar to commonwealths of antiquity as to ourselves, ideas of the common good as the object of the State, of the rights of the people, of the com-

² MAINE, *Ancient Law*. London, 1906.

parative methods of different forms of government, were to them, though sometimes carried out in fact, in their speculative form unknown, perhaps incomprehensible. Feudalism was a social and a legal system, only indirectly and by consequence, a political one.”³

Ecclesiastical feudalism was a necessary result of the contact of the Church with the Germanic peoples. This contact had a very marked influence on the episcopal office and dignity, in so far as these were connected with the merely external aspects of social and political life. While it is quite true that some bishops and abbots, desirous of coming into possession of allodial estates, acted from purely sordid motives, yet it cannot be denied that the spiritual seed sown among the rude peoples of the North would never have reached its full maturity had not the clergy entered into close relations with the powerful lords who commanded the respect of the lower orders. Hence it was necessary that bishops and abbots should become qualified to take their places in the Diet of the Empire; and the only way apparently of rising to such distinction was to emulate the example of the lay lords and acquire landed possessions either in freehold or in fief.⁴

It seems to be an accepted fact that the spiritual lords were more popular than the secular lieges. Hence the expression: “It is good to live under the crook.” In time the evils that came to the Church through the operation of ecclesiastical feudalism outweighed the benefits. The distinction between things sacred and mundane was gradually lost sight of; ecclesiastics became vassals of kings, and as such, mingled with the worldly and shared their dissipations. Montalembert says of the period under discussion: “Kings could dispose, absolutely and without control, of all ecclesiastical dignities. All was venal, from the episcopate, and sometimes, even the papacy, down to the smallest rural benefice.”⁵ Then were sown the seeds of the long struggle between the altar and the throne, the Church and the Empire. Freedom of episcopal election disappeared; and, too often, candidates for the episcopal office were unworthy men, who were

³ BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 87. New York, 1866.

⁴ A freehold, or *allodium*, was possession in absolute independence of the lord paramount; while a fief, or *beneficium*, was held on certain stated conditions, generally, a duty of military service.

⁵ *Monks of the West*, II, p. 309. London, 1896.

courtiers and not ecclesiastics. Those who held land in fief became consequently vassals of princes who, in time, assumed an attitude dangerous to the liberties and the patrimony of the Church. In the early days of the Holy Roman Empire there was absolute freedom in the choice of bishops; for this principle was guaranteed by Charlemagne and Louis the Débonnaire and rigorously enforced by the decrees of the Council of Valence (A. D. 855). Later, however, the grantors of fiefs disregarded these provisions; and Charles the Bald, notwithstanding the obvious right of the Church to freedom of action, appointed court chaplains to bishoprics and sent them to metropolitans for consecration. Thus many creatures of the Crown and striplings of vicious habits were set over important sees, and even placed upon the pontifical throne.⁶

Another serious consequence of ecclesiastical feudalism was the obligation of the newly-elected bishops to take, not only the oath of personal fealty, but also an oath of feudal fealty, known as *homagium*, by which they bound themselves to serve the king in war, to appear at his court when required, to assist at tribunals, and be subject to his jurisdiction.

After taking the oath of *homagium*, the bishops-elect were "invested" with the temporalities of the Church by the transfer of the ring and the pastoral staff, or crosier—the symbols of episcopal power and dignity.⁷

Thus the spiritual lords (bishops and abbots) seemed to derive all jurisdiction, temporal and spiritual, from the hands of a layman. In connection with this abuse there arose another which perhaps had more lamentable results than investiture, viz., the crime of simony.

It was not a far step from the relations of kings and bishops to those of emperors and popes; and we find in the latter half of the eleventh century that the Franconian kings were not content to nominate bishops and abbots; they presumed even to nominate candidates for the papacy itself. Out of these pretensions came the struggle for supremacy between Gregory VII (Hilde-

⁶ Cfr. ALZOG, *Universal Church History*, Vol. ii, p. 244. Dublin 1888.

⁷ The ring and the crosier were first employed in the tenth century as the distinctive symbols of episcopal investiture, their use being analogous to that of the sword and lance in the creation of civil and military functionaries. (NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccl.*, saec. xi. et xii, Diss. iv).

brand) and Henry IV, and the episode of Canossa. Gregory died in exile; and Henry died without the pale. The question of investiture remained unsettled; and Henry V, the last of the Franconian dynasty, continued to invest the bishops of his own choosing. He came in conflict with Paschal II, and crossed the Alps with a powerful army to terrorize the Pope. Paschal sent plenipotentiaries to meet the Emperor at Sutri, where a truce was effected. The Emperor agreed to relinquish the right of investiture; and the Pope agreed to surrender all fiefs belonging to the empire and to forbid bishops, under penalty of excommunication, to assume any dignities to which were attached regal prerogatives, otherwise known as *regalia*. The German bishops refused to abandon the *regalia*; and many of them declared that an instrument which should deprive the Church of what justly belonged to her, was nothing short of sacrilegious in character. Whereupon, Paschal II declined to carry out the conditions of the truce, and refused to withdraw his prohibition of lay investiture. Henry then cast the Pope and thirteen cardinals into prison and refused to release them until Paschal had granted the right of investiture as an imperial privilege (privilegium). The Pope's weakness in the affair was severely condemned by the Gregorian cardinals, and they even accused him of heresy. In the Lateran synod, held in 1112, the privilegium was condemned as being contrary to divine and ecclesiastical law, and was denounced as a *pravilegium* (vicious law). In the same year, the Council of Vienne (September 16) condemned investitures as heretical. Here it should be noted that in those days not only formal errors of faith, but also abuses formulated into law were called heresies.⁸

During the pontificate of Paschal's successor, Gelasius II (1118-1119) there were further difficulties regarding investiture; and the climax came when Callixtus II ascended the papal throne. Henry V at the time was facing a revolution in Germany; and discontent was rife among his subjects. He made overtures to the Pope for a settlement of the investiture quarrel, with the result that Callixtus sent legates to Strasburg, who insisted that the restoration of peace both with his subjects and the

⁸ Cfr. DOLLINGER, *Church History*, trans. Cox, Vol. iii, p. 340. London, 1842.

Papacy was conditional on Henry's renunciation of the claim to investiture. To this Henry consented; but he does not seem to have had any intention of keeping his word. The result was that Callixtus excommunicated him. This notwithstanding, the Pope admonished the recalcitrant Emperor that the Church had no intention of trenching upon his rights and urged him towards concluding a pact. Accordingly, an embassy consisting of three cardinals was sent to Germany by Callixtus and negotiations for a permanent settlement of the investiture conflict were begun at Würzburg, in October, 1121. Here it was agreed that a truce should be proclaimed between Henry and his rebellious subjects: that the Church should have free use of her possessions; that the lands of those in rebellion should be restored; and that a permanent peace should be established with the least possible delay.

These decrees were communicated to Callixtus II, and he immediately despatched Cardinal Lambert of Ostia as his legate to assist at a synod to be convened at Worms. This city has had a tragic history, and it is well named "the city of dreadful strife." The synod began on September 8 and ended on September 23, 1122, on which date the agreement known as the Pactum Callixtinum was concluded. Its chief articles were substantially as follows: The Emperor shall resign to God, to Saints Peter and Paul, and to the Catholic Church, the practice of investiture; he shall permit all the churches of the empire to exercise the fullest freedom in the election and consecration of bishops as the laws of the Church require; that the election of German bishops (i. e. exclusive of Italian and Burgundian) shall take place in the presence of the Emperor; that bishops shall receive investiture of their fiefs and the royal privilege attaching to them, by the imperial sceptre; if Germans, *before*; if Italians, *after*, consecration, but in any case, after the expiration of six months. In return for these grants, bishops shall promise fealty to the Emperor. In case an election be contested, the contestants shall submit their claims to a provincial synod, by whose judgment the Emperor shall abide. You will notice that the Emperor enjoyed a wider latitude in German than in Burgundian territory and might, if he so wished, indefinitely prevent a German bishop-elect who was a *persona non grata* from entering upon his office.

⁸ Cfr. ALZOG, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 385, *footnote*, and HEFELE, *Konziliengeschichte*, Vol. v, p. 336.

To ratify the Pact made at Worms, Callixtus II convened, on March 18, 1123, the First Council of Latern, otherwise known as the Ninth Oecumenical. This Council was most representative, as nearly three hundred bishops and six hundred abbots were present. Besides the ratification of the Pact, the Council passed twenty-three canons directed against simoniacal clerics, violators of the Truce of God, plunderers of church offerings, and forgers of ecclesiastical documents. It tacitly abolished the unwarranted claim of the right of the Emperor to interfere in papal elections; we say *tacitly*, for the fact is that the decrees of the Council did not specifically abolish this claim. Furthermore, nothing was said of the oath of *homagium* against which Urban II and Paschal II had so strenuously striven, though there can be no doubt that Callixtus II was keenly alive to the impropriety of a bishop taking such an oath, and he knew fully as well as his predecessors that the practice jeopardized the liberty of the Church. This seems to us almost inexplicable in the light of the fact that as papal legate in France eleven years before Callixtus (then Cardinal Guido), convoked an assembly of French and Burgundian bishops at Vienne where the investiture of the clergy was denounced as heretical, and sentence of excommunication pronounced against Henry V because he had dared to extort from Pope Paschal II by violence an agreement opposed to the interests of the Church.

There were many members of the Council, especially those who had endorsed the vigorous policy of Hildebrand, who disapproved of the Pact. Though certain historians designate them "zealots," it seems to us that they had solid reasons for their opposition to such an agreement. The history of subsequent conflicts between Church and State proves how broad was their vision and how solidly based their opposition.

The conciliatory attitude of Callixtus II was most favorable to the despotism of the State, whose accepted axiom was: "Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem." We may trace to this the caesarism of later years. It substituted the Royal Supremacy for the Papal Monarchy. It justified Philip the Fair and Henry VIII by anticipation, and was but a rehearsal in the twelfth century of that great anti-papal drama which the latter was to carry to its *dénouement* in the sixteenth. "It sowed the seeds of

mutual distrust between Church and State, and eventually brought about their estrangement."¹⁰

Certain writers, such as Cavagnis, De Angelis, and Gobbio do not regard this Pact as a Concordat, because it made no concession to the Emperor. Wernz, on the other hand, insists that the Pope made several important concessions to Henry V, such as granting the right to assist at episcopal elections and the privilege of exacting from bishops-elect in Germany, and from consecrated bishops in Burgundy and Italy, not merely the oath of simple fealty but even that of *homagium* by which the rights of the Church were considerably restricted.

Thus was inaugurated a system which connoted an innovation in papal diplomacy—the system of concordats, which endures to our own day. The results of this system are thus set forth by an eminent authority:

Le régime des concordats s'éloigne plus ou moins de l'union proprement dite de l'église et de l'état. Il semble même que se fait le relâchement, l'affaiblissement graduel des liens établis par la nature des choses entre les deux pouvoirs, qui ait fini par rendre nécessaire cette sorte d'alliance contractuelle. Dans ce système, la puissance religieuse et la puissance civile, voulant éviter le conflit que feraient naître certains points douteux, s'entendent pour dissiper ces doutes et régler librement quelques questions religieuses. C'est un accord partiel; lequel ne peut fonctionner efficacement qu'en autant que les parties contractantes se montrent animées de dispositions bienveillantes et d'un sincère désir de justice et de concorde.

Hence it is a fallacy to exaggerate the importance or the necessity of such agreements as was the Pactum Callixtinum; for says the same author:¹²

Trop souvent les princes abusèrent de la confiance de l'église et de la protection dont ils la couvraient pour usurper sur ses droits, pour restreindre l'exercice de

¹⁰ ALZOG, *op. cit.* ii, p. 386.

¹¹ PAQUET, *Droit Public de l'Eglise*, p. 228. Québec, 1908.

1908.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

ses pouvoirs pour s'emparer de ses biens et de ses domaines. La rudesse d'une barbarie non encore suffisamment domptée, le système féodal mêlant dans son réseau laiques et ecclésiastiques, l'orgueil, la luxure, toutes les passions mauvaises, non moins vives au coeur des rois que dans l'âme populaire contre le Saint Siège et le pouvoir religieux.

Another well known author says:

From St. Gregory to Leo X Catholic Rome represented not only a conservative tradition but a force of advance.... One antagonist, however, more formidable than speculative tenets....held out against the Pope. It was the secular spirit, the lay anti-clerical *ethos*, which, under many names had begun to stir in the feudal system itself long ago. That spirit wakened in rude....Germans like Henry V a resistance to churchmen the significance of which they could not measure.... When Frederick Barbarossa proclaimed his Divine Right of Caesar, dependent neither on Pope nor people, in the plain of Roncaglia (1158), the modern state was born.¹³

The innovation introduced by the *Pactum Callixtinum* was a precedent for many similar enactments which, for the past nine centuries have brought woes unnumbered to the Church. Such, for example was the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (July 7, 1438), to which succeeded the Concordat of 1516 concluded between Leo X and Francis I, whereby the nomination of bishops to the Sees of France became the prerogative of the king.

This, in turn gave place to the caesarism of Louis XIV, or "la liberté gallicane" which found expression in the iniquitous declaration of 1682. This famous instrument has been termed by a French author "l'anglicanisme enchassé dans la couronne du roi très chrétien."¹⁴

It may interest you to know that this had an echo on the American continent in connection with the appointment of Bishop de Mornay who governed the Diocese of Quebec, from Paris. Those familiar with the ecclesiastical history of Louisi-

¹³ BARRY, "The Papal Deposing Power" in *Dublin Review*, October, 1907.

¹⁴ Cfr. PAQUET. *op. cit.*, p. 15.

ana will realize what sad episodes resulted from the administration of an absentee prelate.

From Gallicanism evolved in 1790 the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; and from the same source originated the 77 Organic Articles annexed to the Concordat of 1801, of which Baudrillart says:

Le Concordat de 1801, contrairement à ceux qui l'avaient précédé non seulement en France, mais dans tous les Etats chrétiens, ne comportait plus l'union intime et vraie de l'église et du pouvoir civil. C'était, au fond, sur cette question de principe que s'était livrée la grande bataille des négociations du pacte célèbre conclu entre Bonaparte et Pie VII.¹⁵

Perhaps many of you are not aware that, apart from the incident alluded to above in connection with the appointment of Bishop de Mornay, the Western World has experienced an aftermath of the Pactum Callixtinum. Time precludes a lengthy discussion of this phase of the subject: we narrate briefly the politico-ecclesiastical agreements which characterized Spain's colonial policy in North America.

The earliest of these dates from the year following the discovery of the Antilles by Columbus. In 1493, Alexander VI entrusted to the Sovereigns of Castile the selection of missionaries for the colonies across the sea.¹⁶ In 1501, the same pontiff granted Ferdinand and Isabella all the tithes in the colonies.¹⁷ In 1508, Julius II granted to Ferdinand and Joanna the right of appointments in the colonies without exception.¹⁸

From those concessions we can realize the condition of the Church in the Spanish colonies. It was simply a status of secular supervision which had lamentable results. The secular supremacy is best illustrated by the attitude of Charles V towards the Papacy. He, like the last of the Franconians, was a ruler of the Holy Roman Empire; and like Henry V heaped indignities upon the occupant of the papal chair. He had sent an army across the Alps in 1527 under the command of Frundsberg and Charles of Bourbon, who sacked Rome and made the Pope pris-

¹⁵ *Quatre cents ans de Concordat*, Paris, 1905. p. 17.

¹⁶ PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, Vol. iv, p. 397, Eng. trans. p. 397. London, 1895.

¹⁷ LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, Vol. i, p. 383. New York, 1911.

¹⁸ ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries in California*, Vol. ii. p. 671. San Francisco, 1908.

oner. Charles, we are told, expressed regret for these indignities and went into mourning with all his court, while, by his direction, the Pope was kept a captive for seven months. His absolutism in the colonies is evidenced by the following statement: "Things came to such a pass [in the Spanish colonies] that without the royal assent no ecclesiastical official, not even a sacristan, could be appointed, transferred or dismissed; none might enter or leave the colonies; diocesan or parochial boundaries might not be set down or altered; no school or convent be erected. For all practical purposes the King was, a Spanish historian terms him, the 'Vicar of the Pope'."

Furthermore, all Bulls and Briefs had to pass through the Council of the Indies which represented the King, and they could not be promulgated without its seal. The records of provincial councils and synods could not be published until the Council had examined and revised them. Even the nomination of bishops was a royal prerogative. The first bishop of Mexico, the distinguished Zumarrága, who styled himself "omnimoda potestate antistes," governed the diocese for five years before going back to Spain to be consecrated. Presumably, some of these privileges were usurped by the Spanish King; but many of them were exercised with the approval of Rome. We do not question the wisdom of the Holy See in granting these concessions; but until compelling evidence is offered, it seems quite logical to trace many of the difficulties which came to the Spanish Colonies and to other portions of the vineyard to the innovation in Papal Diplomacy introduced by the *Pactum Callixtinum*.

I conclude with these pertinent utterances of Pope Leo XIII: He says in the Encyclical *Immortale Dei* (November 12, 1885): "God has apportioned the government of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the former set over things divine, the latter over things human. Each is restricted within limits which are perfectly determined and defined in conformity with its own nature and special aim. There is, therefore, as it were, a circumscribed sphere in which each exercises its functions *jure proprio*." In the Encyclical *Sapientiae Christianae* (January 10, 1890) the same pontiff says: "The Church and the State have each its own power, and neither of the powers is subject to the other."

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THE MILAN DECREE OF A. D. 313

TRANSLATION AND COMMENT

After the battle of the Milvian Bridge, A. D. 312, in which the usurper Maxentius lost his life, Constantine the Great and Licinius remained the sole emperors of the Roman Empire, Constantine ruling the West, and Licinius the East. In the following year, 313, both emperors jointly issued the Decree of Milan, by which they gave full religious liberty to the Christians. More than any other document emanating from secular authority this Decree has "changed the face of the earth." Constantine was the prime mover. Licinius, though at that time not unfriendly to the Christians, probably gave his consent chiefly in deference to his mighty co-emperor. He always remained a pagan. Later on he began to disregard the Decree in the administration of his own provinces, and finally started again a persecution of the Christians. This and various other causes led to a war between the two rulers, which ended in a complete victory for Constantine.

The text of the Milan Decree is preserved by Lactantius, the Christian Cicero, in his work, "The Deaths of the Persecutors." And there is a Greek translation of it in the "Ecclesiastical History" of Bishop Eusebius. This translation, however, seems to have been based upon a Latin original, which in some small items disagreed from the Latin text of Lactantius. The professors of the University of Vienna, who edited Lactantius' writings in their "*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*" supplemented the Decree here and there by slight insertions from Eusebius. The English translation given below is made from the text so reconstructed, which may be found in the "*Enchiridion Fontium Historiae Ecclesiasticae*" by Conrad Kirch, S.J., Nos. 352, 353.

In A. D. 311 the arch-persecutor Galerius, driven to despair by the pains of a horrible disease of which eventually he died, had grudgingly permitted the Christians to practice their religion. But this Edict of Toleration did not restore confiscated property, and worse than this, it did not assure to the Christians the use of citizens' rights. The clause "provided they do noth-

ing contrary to good order" allowed of very unfavorable interpretations. And the announcement that more detailed directions would be given to the magistrates was apt still more to tone down expectations. This Edict had been published also in the names of Constantine (who had never joined in the persecution) and Licinius. Both, too, must have sent out the detailed directions, spoken of in the document, though we have no means to ascertain whether these were identical in the realms of both. But, however this may be, the two emperors by the Decree of Milan expressly and unequivocally withdrew and cancelled all the restrictions of religious liberty which either might be deduced from Galerius' Edict or were contained in the special "instructions" and "communications" dispatched to the magistrates.—The Milan Decree was addressed to the imperial governors.

TRANSLATION OF THE MILAN DECREE.

Part I. I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, at a propitious juncture meeting in Milan, and taking under consideration the whole range of public interest and safety, have come to the conclusion, that among all matters conducive to the public weal those ought to be settled in the very first place, by which the reverence due to the Deity is safeguarded (to wit) that we give to the Christians as well as to all (others) free permission to follow the religion which each one chooses, in order that whatever Deity there is on the heavenly throne may be propitiated and show itself favorable to ourselves and to all that are under our power.

Hence, listening to the demands of both public welfare and sound reason, we have thought it our duty to enact that leave shall be refused to no one whatever who has given his heart either to the teachings of the Christians or to that (other) kind of religion which he himself feels to be the most suitable to him; so that the Supreme Divinity, worshipped by us with full freedom, may be able to show to us in all things its wonted favor and benevolence.

The Lordship will therefore take notice of our pleasure that all the restrictions which are contained in former instructions concerning the Christians (super Christianorum nomine) and

which appear to be very ill advised (*sinistra*) and out of keeping with our clemency, are all and entirely cancelled; and that each and everyone desirous to observe the religion of the Christians may do so without any fear, and without any disadvantage to himself. We thought it our duty to express this to thy Lordship in the plainest terms, so that thou knowest we give to the aforesaid Christians free and unlimited permission to practice their religion. Thy Lordship understands, that for the tranquility of our times the same freedom as to religion and observance is likewise expressly and liberally granted to others, so that everyone may enjoy the fullest permission to worship what he chooses. We take this step with the intention of preventing the appearance as if we meant to slight anything deserving of honor or religious veneration.

Part II. As to the Christians we deem it our duty to issue still another enactment, (namely) concerning the places (buildings) in which they formerly were accustomed to assemble, and about which a well-known rule was laid down in the communications sent heretofore to thy Fidelity. Those persons who appear to have bought these identical places either from our treasury or from anybody else shall restore the same to the Christians without money and without charging any price, setting aside all deception and delay. Likewise those who have received them as presents shall immediately surrender them to the same Christians. If the present owners, however, whether they acquired them by purchase or by gift, shall wish to receive anything (as compensation) from our bounty, let them apply to our representative, so that provision may be made for them also by our clemency. It will be thy duty to see to it that all this property be returned to the community of the Christians without any protraction.

And since the Christians, as is well known, possessed not only those places where they used to meet, but also others which belonged not to individuals but to them as corporation, that is to the churches, we comprise all these in the aforesaid ordinance (of restitution). And thou wilt cause them to be returned without hesitancy and without litigation, to the same Christians, that is, to their corporation and communities; observing, however, the above mentioned caution, (to wit) that those who faithful to

our order restore them without charging any price may expect indemnity from our benevolence.

(Conclusion). In all these affairs thou shalt be obliged to yield to the body of the Christians thy most efficacious assistance, to the end that our ordinance be carried out as speedily as possible, and that at the same time through our clemency care be taken of the maintenance of public order. In this way the divine favor towards us, which as expressed above we have experienced on the most momentous occasions, will forever prosper our future enterprises and the happiness of our people.

But in order that the tenor of this our gracious rescript may come to the knowledge of all, thou shalt have copies of it certified by thy signature, posted up everywhere, and shalt promulgate it broadcast; so that the firm determination of our clemency may not remain in obscurity.

COMMENT.

By the first part of this Decree the emperors made Christianity another state religion, as those who professed it were declared to be no longer subject to any loss of civic rights or privileges, nor to any sort of political disability. Henceforth the followers of Jesus Christ could no longer be molested on account of their Creed. They now could plead in the courts, and could accept state offices without being obliged to perform the pagan ceremonies connected with them. In short, they now possessed in full reality all the privileges of Roman citizens. Before the law they now stood on the same level as the rest of the population. On the other hand, the emperors were careful to emphasize strongly and repeatedly that they did not in any way think of curtailing the religious liberty and rights of the pagans, who still made up, perhaps, nine-tenths of the population. Seeing the sentiments of hatred and supreme contempt with which the pagans looked upon the Christians, the Edict must have had a stunning effect upon the adorers of the old Roman gods, while, no doubt, to the despised, persecuted, and hunted Christians it must at first have seemed "too good to be true."

It should be noted how clearly and consistently the unity of the Supreme Being is expressed in the Degree. This certainly

was a blow against the current polytheistic ideas of paganism. It was not entirely an innovation, however, since the neo-Pythagoreans and the neo-Platonists had already attempted to consolidate the cult of the many gods and goddesses into something like a crude monotheistic system. But farther than the unity of the Godhead the authors of the Decree do not proceed. They do not declare the God of the Christians the One True God, and they prefer to use such indefinite terms as Deity. They expressly refuse to enter upon that question at all, leaving it to the individual to decide for himself "what Deity there is on the heavenly throne." Nor did either of the emperors profess himself a Christian. Locinius, of course, could not. And as to Constantine, it seems that although he recognized the favors he had received from the God of the Christians, and realized the unquestionable superiority of the religion of Jesus Christ, he did not yet see his duty to embrace that religion.

While thus Part One of the Decree secures to the Christians religious liberty and civic rights, Part Two does away with one of the worst consequences of the persecutions. Although the great period of church building was yet to come, many Christian temples had been erected during the time of peace which preceded the fierce persecution by Diocletian. Diocletian had ordered these churches to be destroyed or confiscated and put to other uses. Many had passed into private hands. All these buildings without any exception were now to be restored to the Christian communities, no matter how often they might have changed hands. With the churches themselves was to go all other property once held by the Christian congregations. The present owners were told to apply to the imperial treasury, if they desired indemnification. The amount they might expect was not specified. But this was hardly possible. Nor was it necessary, because the treasury officers, in whose hands would practically lie the settlement of such cases, all being pagans, were certainly inclined to allow rather too much than too little.

It does not appear from the Decree, whether churches which had been destroyed were to be built up at public expense. But considering the later zeal of Constantine in raising Christian temples we may presume that he had made provision for the re-building of churches by other enactments of which we have no

positive knowledge. We cannot doubt, either, that church property of any kind which was still under the control of the Fiscus now reverted to the Christians. This was at any rate a lesser burden for the imperial exchequer, it would seem, than the redemption of those possessions which had passed into private ownership. But outside of these two points the Decree is certainly very definite, leaving absolutely no loophole. Nor does the language of the Decree admit of the slightest doubt as to the determination of the Caesars to see their will executed.

The imperial order to restore the alienated church property had for the Christians another consequence of far-reaching importance, in that it recognized the several ecclesiastical units as corporations with the right of holding property.

But while insisting in strong terms upon the restitution of church property the Decree stated unmistakably that private property lost by the Christians in consequence of persecutions did not come under this head. Confiscation of possessions had been one of the most dreadful penalties inflicted on the faithful Christians, and Constantine knew very well that the estates and movables taken from rightful owners amounted to immense value. If he did not order their restitution, he must have had good reasons. Perhaps, it was the opposition of Licinius that prevailed on him not to raise this demand. Possibly, too, both emperors were convinced that such a restitution would cause great disturbance in the civic body, and that the evil thus brought upon the state at large would be much greater than the benefit accruing to a number of individual Christians.

The Milan Decree was in the course of time followed up by other laws calculated to remove obstacles which stood in the way of a wholesome development of the Church. Constantine exempted the clergy from the duty of accepting municipal offices, and from the taxes imposed by Roman Law upon unmarried persons. He enjoined the sanctification of the Sunday, and gave expressly to the churches the right of acquiring property by testament. He provided for military chaplains; each legion was to have a certain number of clerics and a large tent to serve as church in the camp. He promulgated laws for the protection of women, children, and slaves, though in these points he did not venture to go so far as the moral law of the Church demands.

In A. D. 321 he indeed ordered the restitution of confiscated private property of individual Christians. (SOZOMENOS, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I, Chap. 8). But this order may have applied to some particular provinces only, or it may have been limited to losses suffered during the persecution of Licinius. An investigation on this point is beyond the scope of the present paper.

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THE STORY OF LAMENNAIS

There are no more poignant and moving episodes in Ecclesiastical history than the ruined lives and blasted careers of those former champions, who fell away from the Faith, reviled the Creed which they once had loved, and vilified the chiefs, whom they had once obeyed. And again and again the importunate questions force themselves on the musing mind: What was the real reason of their unexpected defection? Did circumstances excuse or palliate their conduct in any way? If they had been blessed with some wise and sympathetic friend to restrain and mother them; if some loving and skillful hand had been present to pour balm into their storm-swept hearts; if only authority had pressed its rights a little less vigorously; if above all opponents had been less eager to triumph out of their humiliation, might not the sordid and dreadful tragedy have been changed into a charming idyl?

So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore;
The glory from his grey hairs gone
For evermore.

Revile him not! The tempter hath
A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!

Of all we loved and honoured, naught
Save power remains;
A fallen angel's pride of thought
Still strong in chains.

If, for instance, Tertullian could have been weaned from his harsh and overbearing dogmatism; if Arius could have been distracted from his mania for unwise speculation; if Nestorius could have been persuaded to attend to his vast and half-pagan diocese; if all the welter of leaders and sects, that distracted the

¹ So he always signed himself from 1834, the date of his rupture with the Church.

East from the fourth to the eighth centuries had directed their energies into missionary work, charitable endeavor, zeal for souls, what a glorious expansion the Church would have achieved! Is it likely that the Greek Church would have become petrified into sterile immobility, or the whole Eastern Empire have fallen such an easy prey to Islamism? But in the midst of disputes inextricably entangled, in the East at least, with base politics and court intrigue; when empresses and chamberlains and more frequently still eunuchs dictated the decrees of synods and assemblies, how could the Church prosper, or true religion flourish, or noble enterprises of grand conception be safely piloted to successful issues?² Oh, Iago, the pity of it!

These thoughts have been suggested to us by the mournful career of a priest, who was hailed in the earlier half of his life as a new Father of the Church, but who died outside the pale, and deliberately refused the Sacraments in his last conscious moments.

Felicité Robert de La Mennais, who after 1834 wrote his name invariably Lamennais, was born at St. Malo in Brittany in 1782. His father, an unsuccessful merchant, was too much preoccupied with business worries to attend to his family. His mother died when the boy was only five. His brothers and sisters, of whom there were four and one of whom, Jean-Marie, was to grow into a real authentic saint, seem to have been without interest for him; for he wrote in after years that ennui was born in the home circle on a winter's evening. He was of an extremely nervous and sickly constitution, irritable, cranky, and easily excited to furious outbursts of anger, which expired as quickly as they were born. Felicité's greatest pleasure was to divide his time between long dreamy walks by the seashore, eager gallops over the surrounding moors, and unrestrained reading in his uncle's library. This uncle had invented confinement in the library as a punishment for his nephew's pranks but the culprit found himself so much at home, that he sought out and multiplied occasions of condemnation. The wilful boy left to his own devices among teeming books read not wisely but too well—read so unwisely that he completely lost his faith; and when at eighteen a priest

² See a very curious paper by Batiffol entitled *Les Présents de S. Cyrille à la cour de Constantinople. Études de Liturgie*, 154 seqq.

stroved to prepare him for his First Communion there was no possibility of stopping the interminable arguments or quelling the unbelief of the young infidel. At twenty-two, however, he again got back or won back his faith, and it is not clearly known who or what exercised a determining influence over him. One thing is certain, that his elder brother, Jean-Marie, a priest since 1801, and Felicité became at this time (1804) fast friends, and they engaged in literary work together. They produced thus in collaboration *Reflexions sur l'état de l'église de France* and in 1808 *Tradition sur l'institution des évêques en France*. This latter pamphlet was not published until the last years of Napoleon's reign, and it gave such offense to the Government that the author thought it advisable to leave home, and spend some time in England. There he taught mathematics at a school in Kensington kept by a certain Abbé Carron, perfected himself in English, which he already knew fairly well, and acquired a passion for Milton, which with a similar one for Dante he kept all his life long. In later years when living at his home of Chenaie at the height of his fame and surrounded by admiring followers, it was his delight to expound the beauties of these two great poets to his youthful disciples. Abbé Carron acquired a deep influence over his assistant, advised him to enter the priesthood, and dissipated the doubts, fears and hesitations which the neophyte cherished on this venture. For, though he had received tonsure as far back as 1809, he recoiled before subdeaconship until 1815. On December 14th of that year he made the decisive step, and writing the very next day to his brother he said it has cost him a tremendous sacrifice. On March 9th, 1816, he was ordained priest, and his first mass was a terrible ordeal both for himself and those present.³ His face became livid, the sweat poured from him, and

³ MOURRET, *La Question du liberalisme catholique in the Revue d'apologetique*, fevrier I 1917. p. 520: an identical or very similar account appears in biographies generally. But a notable extract published for the first time in *Le Correspondant* of December 25, 1920, p. 1115 gives a different history of this first mass from the lips of Lamennais himself, so at least the author of the extract a certain M. Dargaud alleges. "One day at Juilly speaking to the Abbé de Salinis, pray for me, pray for me he [Lamennais] repeated to him, I need prayers badly. My first mass disturbed me terribly, and disturbs me still. I was alone. In order to be more recollected I had allowed in only one little peasant altar boy. In the middle of this mass I distinctly heard a voice which uttered these words clearly near me: Carry your cross, always, always. Well said the Abbé de Salinis, that was a great favour, which you should be very glad of. Surely, replied M. de la Mennais, but I am weary of carrying this cross, and I am growing more and more weary. Pray then for me with all your heart."

the assistants thought the ceremony would never end. Three months later his mental anguish was still acute. Writing to his brother on June 25th, 1816, he said: "I must now strive to make the best of things, and if possible, lull myself to sleep under the stake to which I have been chained." Still he did not allow his doubts or scruples to interfere with his literary activity. For he began immediately to write in various newspapers, and he at once made his mark. He had all the qualities that go to make a first-class journalist, vividness, alertness, the telling word, the arresting phrase, the striking presentation, the rich, full-blooded development. He had other gifts also, useful no doubt, but whose employment needs unceasing care and vigorous pruning and repression—these were sarcasm, satire, the scorn of opponents, the art of affixing stinging epithets, which pilloried sometimes unjustly enough, their object and victim. De Maistre, then at the height of his fame, wrote to him: "Don't waste your talent. Nature has given you a cannon. Don't change it into a shot-gun to kill sparrows." He certainly did not do so; but it had been well for himself if he had toned down somewhat his polemic vigour, and especially if he had been less outrageous and offensive towards his opponents. Amongst his wisest friends and best advisers was a young Sulpician priest, Abbé Tesseyrre, who in 1817 suggested his writing a continuation and supplement to Chateaubriand's *Genius of Christianity* under the wider title of the *Spirit of Christianity*. This project never materialized but its propylaeum and facade, so to speak, saw the light in 1817 under the title: *Essai sur l'indifference en matière de religion*. This work roused France like a trumpet call, and in an astonishingly short time 40,000 copies were sold. Not for seventy-six years, says Lacordaire, had any priest in France proved himself a writer of eminence or a superior man. But here the oldtime Christian eloquence, with now and then perhaps a note of harshness, vibrated. Enthusiasm and gratitude mounted to the highest pitch; the truth had waited so long for an avenger! And M. de la Mennais, unknown the day before found himself possessed of the prestige of Bossuet.⁴ Lacordaire adds that all Eu-

⁴ LACORDAIRE. *Considerations sur le système de M. de la Mennais*. Ch. I. pp. 35-37.

rope awaited the continuation of the work. There was some delay in this; a second installment not appearing until 1820 and a third in 1821. The disappointment provoked by these later volumes was almost as great as the admiration which had been excited by the first. They grappled with the problems of certitude and the motives of belief. They abandoned the age-long positions of Catholic philosophy, they abandoned the natural light of the intelligence to place the ultimate foundation of certitude in the consent of the human race.⁵ All the Sulpicians, all the seminaries of France protested, and many of the bishops also openly opposed his theses. Abbé Carron implored him to publish nothing more on such very delicate matters without first consulting trained and expert theologians. This advice was most disagreeable to him, and he intimated to his correspondent that if his ideas were condemned by Rome he would write more.⁶ Rome, however, took no notice of the controversy and he was not condemned. If contradiction beset him, ardent sympathy and devotion also concentrated around him, and Lamennais became henceforward the leader of a school with his warm admirers and his no less passionate opponents. He gathered around him men of the highest and rarest gifts, who afterwards gained name and fame for themselves both in the Church and in the world—Gerbet, Rohrbacher, Lacordaire, Gueranger, Montalembert, de Salinis, Maurice de Guerin and others became the guests of Lamennais in his home of Chenaie, and there they worked at various literary tasks and dreamed of social and religious regeneration together. Another project of his to which he gave some expression during this period was the formation of a religious order, entitled *la Congregation de Saint-Pierre*, whose aim was to work for "the regeneration of the world." During these years also aided to some extent by his brother, Lamennais produced a new translation of the *Imitation of Christ* accompanied with reflexions of his own. This work has been used and admired by three generations, and still maintains its ground; it was pronounced by de Sacy to be a masterpiece both of the writer and the priest. He visited Rome in 1824, was received with the most flattering distinction by Pope Leo XII, who offered him an

⁵ MERCIER, *Criteriologie*, p. 127 seq.

⁶ FOISSET, *Vie du P. Lacordaire* Vol. I, p. 110.

apartment in the Vatican, and hung Lamennais' portrait in his private cabinet. Towards 1828 this same Pope is said to have selected Lamennais for the cardinalate. In full Consistory, the Pontiff declared cardinal *in petto*, "a distinguished writer, whose works had not only rendered eminent services to religion, but had rejoiced and astonished Europe." Cardinal Wiseman, who tells this episode in his *Recollections of the last Four Popes*, admits these words apply more fitly to Lamennais than to anyone else; but some maintain that the person meant by the Pope was Dr. John Lingard, whose histories were then being widely read on the Continent. However that may be, these impending honours, the exaggerated deference of his disciples, the extraordinary sway that he exerted over public opinion in France did not inspire in him any salutary humility, any prudent distrust of his own powers and opinions. On the contrary he seems to have allowed himself to be regarded as an oracle, to have imagined that he and his were the only ones capable of regenerating their country and their Church; and to have become soured, embittered, furiously indignant at any kind of opposition or even difference of opinion. Lacordaire in the memoir of his own life which he dictated on his death bed describes the first visit he made to Chenai in 1830, and his amazement at "the kind of idolatry" which was paid to the Master.⁷ An atmosphere of adulation is unhealthy for anyone; to some it is a deadly poison. It warps their entire being; it jaundices their whole outlook; it obsesses them with the conviction of their own infallibility, rectitude and necessity. Let then authority make a ruling adverse to their views, and demand from them submission and obedience; let discipline call for a change of tactics and procedure; let prudence and common sense suggest the abandonment of untenable positions, or the quelling of exasperating controversies and unprofitable fault-finding. At once the storm of revolt rises in their souls; at

⁷ The history of humanism is full of similar fantastic adoration paid sometimes to real and not infrequently to affected excellence. Here is a parallel instance from modern times. The writer in question is Swinburne, the narrator Edmund Gosse. "While the present writer [Edmund Gosse] was still in that outer class, he well remembers being told that an audience of the elect to whom Swinburne recited the yet unpublished "DOLORES" had been moved to such incredible ecstasy by it that several of them had sunk on their knees, then and there, and adored him as a god." Edmund Gosse, *Portraits and Sketches*, pp. 3-4.

once wounded pride and petulance stiffen their resistance; at once the pampered, caressed ego cries out that they owe it to themselves, to their past, to their achievements, to their career, to the world watching their every move and variation not to deviate a hair's breadth from the attitude they have adopted. So it happened with Lamennais when the campaign of the *Avenir* brought down on him the censures of the French bishops and the condemnation of the Pope.

In September, 1830, a young layman, to-day completely forgotten, Harel du Tancré, mainly with his own means and in the humblest manner imaginable, started a Catholic paper, to which he gave the significant name of *L'Avenir*, the Future. May he not have felt some premonition, that only in the distant future would the seed sown by the *Avenir* bring forth full fruit? His principal supporter in this venture was the Abbé Gerbet, who enlisted the help of Lamennais. This last at once eclipsed all his co-workers, the direction and editorship of the sheet fell as it were spontaneously into his hands, so that it is no exaggeration to say that *L'Avenir* was Lamennais. The first issue of the paper appeared on October 16, 1830; very soon it counted 3,000 subscribers. Its championship of the Church and every worthy cause was vibrant, inspiring; it told the truth boldly and without any attenuation; and this chevaleresque attitude and fearless campaigning, at that time practically without precedent in the European press, conciliated sympathy and brought every day new and enthusiastic adherents. In the issue of November 25, Lacordaire, who was beginning to manifest unrivaled journalistic gifts,⁶ urged the bishops to reject the episcopal nominations made by King Louis-Philippe; while Lamennais wrote an indignant article on the petty tyranny exercised against Catholics. The Government indicted both writers, who were brought to trial and acquitted. To cover their law expenses they had called for a public subscription, which soon reached the relatively large sum of \$5,000. This unexpected success inspired Lamennais

⁶ It is worth while noting that of all the writers in the *Avenir* Lacordaire was the most violent. Lamennais in spite of his own shortcomings in this respect thought that Lacordaire went beyond the limit, and he often said speaking freely to his entourage: "This fellow's exaggerations will ruin us." (*Les exagérations de ce garçon-la nous perdront.*) FAVRE, *Lacordaire Orateur*, p. 103.

with the idea of forming an association for defending Catholic rights and protecting Catholic interests. They collected \$4,000 to start this organization under the title of *Agence général pour la défense de la liberté religieuse*. Nor did their zeal and charity remain confined to themselves. Then as now Ireland was in deep distress, and Lamennais and his co-workers collected no less than \$16,000 for the relief of the Irish poor.⁹ Meanwhile another member of the little band, C. de Coux, treated social and economic questions in the columns of the journal in a thoroughly competent manner, still without any perilous exaggeration.Flushed with triumph the writers of the *Avenir* now began to tread on dangerous ground, and to put into their language a severity, and into their views an untried utopianism which to say the least was most imprudent. Thus they demanded the immediate separation of Church and State; and that the Church surrender instantly the salaries paid to her officials by the Government. To ask such a radical sacrifice immediately was most unreasonable; and to do so, without first consulting the bishops and the Holy See was contrary to all subordination and discipline. The paper further gave grave offense by pronouncing incessantly the rights of the people to self-government, and that the day of autocracy and absolutism was over. The sovereigns and rulers of the time could hardly be expected to accept with good grace such a very revolutionary doctrine. The cup of its iniquities literally flowed over when the *Avenir* strove to unite in one mighty federation not only the Catholics of France, Belgium, Ireland, Poland and Germany; but also the "liberals," or as we should say, the democrats of every country. In the country still strewn with the ruins of the French Revolution, in the society still bleeding from its wounds, such a policy was looked upon as atrocious, and in the storm of disapprobation that ensued the *Avenir* founded. On November 11, 1831, the shareholders decided unanimously that it was imperative to suspend publication, at least for a time. On November 15, 1831, the paper made its last bow, and announced that three members of the staff, the Abbés Lamennais and Lacordaire and the Count de Montalembert would proceed immediately to Rome, "the pilgrims of God and of lib-

⁹ LACORDAIRE. *Notice dictée sur son lit de mort*, in *Lettres à Théophile Foisset*, Vol. I. p. XXXIX.

erty" to submit their views to the judgment of the Holy See. The idea was Lacordaire's, who blamed the move severely afterwards, and blamed Lamennais also with his twenty years seniority and mature experience of life for not dissuading him from it.¹⁰ It is easy to be wise after the event, and to see how much better one might have ordered one's methods. But to them in the stress of strife and contradiction the pilgrimage to Rome seemed a leap into the shining heights of the ideal, and a triumphant escape from the dead and flat prose of failure. Who can blame the soldier for laying his sword at his chieftain's feet? and if he points a little wistfully to his wounds and sacrifices, and thus mutely solicits some reward, who would have the heart to condemn him? So speaks the language of exaltation and enthusiasm, but cool reflexion and hard reality cannot fail to see many other and varying viewpoints. The Pope as head of a worldwide organization must promote the interests of the Church Universal, he dare not permit himself to become the narrow champion of one part or section to the detriment of the whole. Now no one connected with the *Avenir* except Lamennais was, up to that time, in any way famous. Even he, for some years past, had been criticized severely, and his views had met with powerful opposition. But granted that he were an Augustine or a Bossuet, which he was not—granted that his views were technically flawless, which they were not—still the Pope might well hesitate to approve formally doctrines which the majority of the French episcopate detested; and the very most that could have been expected of him was to pass over in silence aims and methods which had set the whole country aflame. It seems the Pope was desirous and more than desirous to leave things as they were. Gregory XVI no more wanted to condemn Lamennais than Innocent XII wanted to condemn Fénelon. He was not prepared and could not reasonably be expected to back with his approval firebrand methods and theories, which were inopportune, ill-timed and quite debatable. The pilgrims reached Rome; they found no one of any importance to meet them, only a French priest, Abbé Martin de Noirlieu, who offered them hospitality in the name of Father Ventura, the superior-general of the Theatines. Their request for an audience with the Pope was quietly

¹⁰ LACORDAIRE, *Notice sur son lit de mort*, pp. 11, 41.

adjourned until they had given a statement in writing of their desires and intentions.¹¹ This statement was from the pen of Lacordaire. The Pope read it carefully and more than once. He replied through Cardinal Pacca that while fully appreciating their intentions and their talents His Holiness was not pleased with the discussion of dangerous controversies; that their opinions would be carefully examined, but such an examination would require time and that he thought it advisable for them in the meantime to return to their own country. The Pope also granted them a private audience, received them most kindly, but he had stipulated beforehand that no mention of the controversy should be made in his presence.

Some time previous to this visit the Pope had taken care to learn something of Lamennais, his aims and theories. With this object the Pontiff had consulted three persons. Their written replies buried for decades in the Vatican archives were first published in 1911, by Father Dudon, S.J.¹² The three persons consulted were Father Ventura, Cardinal Lambruschini, and Abbate Baraldi, a priest of Modena, who had founded a Catholic review himself and frequently spoken of Lamennais' writings with respect and sympathy. Ventura thought that Lamennais was an extraordinary genius, but that many of his views were dangerous, and no written approbation should be given of his doctrines. Lambruschini was of opinion that no reply at all should be given to Lamennais. His object in coming to Rome was to obtain a triumph, which certainly should not be accorded him. Baraldi thought that Lamennais should be received kindly, and some of his views approved. But his ideas on the sovereignty of the people were really subversive of the Church and of society, and he should be made realize and understand this. It will be observed that the first and third reply are quite sympathetic to their object. Only in the second is there any trace of severity, and that of a purely negative kind, because there is no question of condemnation, but the simple refusal of an answer. Nor was the Pope severe or autocratic. He simply suspended sentence for the time being, and said that after full and deliberate examination he would transmit his wishes to them. The Pontiff's

¹¹ LACORDAIRE, *op. cit.*, p. 43. FOISSET, *Vie de Lacordaire*, Vol. I., p. 196 seq.

¹² *Lamennais et le Saint Siège*.

course seems to have been perfectly prudent, reasonable and paternal as well; for had he hearkened to certain messages reaching him from France, there would not have been an instant's delay in his condemnation. Lacordaire understood at once that the cause was lost, and that the Pope was intimating to them as gently as possible a tacit disapproval. Lamennais obstinately closed his eyes to evidence, and announced his determination of staying in Rome to await a decision. The former left Rome March 15, 1832. The latter in the vain hope of obtaining a favorable decision stayed on in the city till July. Then wearying of the long and fruitless delay, embittered by his failure, indignant at the defection of Lacordaire, and considerably embarrassed by a heavy financial loss¹³ he left for home with revolt in his heart, and with the full determination of republishing the *Avenir*. At Munich he met Lacordaire and gave him a chilling reception. But the former was not to be abashed so easily. They began to chat, and for two hours, says Lacordaire, "I strove to show him how vain was his hope of resuming the *Avenir*, and what irreparable injury he would thereby cause to his intelligence, his faith and honor. At last, whether it was that my reasoning had convinced him, or the wider gulf now parting us had made an impression on him, he said to me: 'Yes, that is true, your viewpoint is the right one.'"¹⁴ The very next day a banquet was tendered to Lamennais by the *élite* of Munich. And strange and ironic to relate, it was during the very course of this entertainment that the papal brief of condemnation *Mirari vos* was handed to him. He received the fatal missive with a calmness quite unusual in him. "I have just received," he whispered to his companions, "a letter from the Pope against us; we must not hesitate to submit." On reaching France he immediately published in conjunction with his co-workers a declaration of submission. This attitude on the part of Lamennais gave deep satisfaction at Rome, and Cardinal Pacca wrote him a letter of congratulation on behalf of the Pope. The incident seemed safely closed, and would in all probability have ended there, if others had imitated the charity and prudent reserve

¹³ MOURRET, *La Question du libéralisme* in the *Cath.*, *Rev. d'apol.*, 15 fév 1917, p. 600.

¹⁴ LACORDAIRE, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

shown by the Pope himself. Neither Lamennais nor his paper were mentioned in the Papal Brief, and even the errors condemned in the encyclical were not textually those of the paper, but rather the deductions and consequences towards which those doctrines tended. Friends and enemies began to comment noisily on the Papal letter, and each party saw in it what suited their own views. Friends and enemies began to stir up an agitation around Lamennais, and unfortunately he was not the man who would ever be satisfied to leave to others the last word. A further letter of the Pope's in reply to some fresh communications from France found its way quite unnecessarily into the newspapers.¹⁵ The Gallican press was not averse from paying off some old scores to its great antagonist. It twisted then the Brief into containing a direct allusion to Lamennais, and he was loudly called upon to submit unconditionally or explain his position. The journalists kept harping on the note that Lamennais had hitherto shown an entirely negative submission; that he had merely kept silent and dropped all polemics, but he had not given, so to speak, any hostages for his future good behavior, and he had not given his adhesion *ex animo* to the pontifical directions. These attacks were not without producing an effect. Soon there arrived to Lamennais a letter from Cardinal Pacca stating that his submission was not considered sufficient, and asking him to give a simple and unqualified adherence to the teaching of the encyclical. He obeyed. But his obedience was purely verbal, for all the while his soul was seething with revolt. In a letter written to Montalembert on January 1, 1834, he told his correspondent that for peace' sake he was prepared to sign anything, "even the statement that the Pope is God, the great God of heaven and earth, and that he alone ought to be adored." It was a sad New Year's letter, deplorable, regrettable, from every point of view; and a thousand times more so, when one remembers it was written to a mere boy, by an elderly priest, who not long before had been hailed as a Father of the Church. Lamennais had shortly before the above date ceased to celebrate mass, and he never afterwards discharged any priestly function. Some four months later, in April, 1834, appeared his *Paroles d'un*

¹⁵ FOISSET, *Vie du P. Lacordaire*, Vol. I., p. 238, says: La publicité donnée au Bref....n'était point un acte de bienveillance.

Croyant, into which he poured all the concentrated venom of his ulcerated heart. Some beautiful passages on prayer, pity, virtue offer no excuse for his furious declamations against the rulers of the day, and still less for a most offensive and unpardonable portrait of Gregory XVI. This paragraph was replaced by dots in the first edition, but he allowed it to appear in subsequent issues. The remainder of Lamennais' sad story may be told briefly. *Affaires de Rome*, published in 1836, was another furious invective against the Papacy. *Le pays et le gouvernement* gave such deep offense to the French Executive that Lamennais was condemned to a month's imprisonment. He spent his closing years in poverty and unhappiness, drifting restlessly from lodging to lodging in Paris. Mentally he seems to have gravitated more and more towards a vague pantheism. He died February 27, 1854. The previous day his niece observing he was extremely ill, said to him: "Feli, (i. e., the pet name he was always called by his intimates) "won't you have a priest? You would like to have a priest, wouldn't you?" "No!" "Do, I beg you." "No, no, no! Leave me alone." Then for eight hours he was unable to speak, but his mind seemed quite clear. Several times he endeavored to convey his wishes to those present, but they could not understand his incoherent mutterings. At last, growing weary of the unavailing effort to make himself understood, he turned his head to the wall, and shortly after breathed his last.

Years after when the smoke of battle had long cleared away, and when the evening of life was closing on himself, Lacordaire in two long letters to his friend Foisset, gave his considered judgments on the events here narrated. The great Dominican's noble character and spotless career are absolute guarantees of the impartiality, sincerity and careful discrimination of his observations. Questioned by Foisset as to the intellectual gifts of Lamennais, Lacordaire answered that Lamennais' intelligence was narrow, incapable of seeing an object in various lights, or of viewing it under different angles. Hence Lamennais most unreasonably thought that condemnation on certain points meant absolute ruin to him. The reason of a child, Lacordaire adds, would have overcome a difficulty where his met with shipwreck, and he failed through weakness, not through strength—and through weakness that a seminarian would not have been guilty of. My firm conviction, Lacordaire continues, is that Gregory

XVI wanted to save Lamennais, and that the Pope never would have condemned him, if he had simply thanked Cardinal Pacca for his letter, left Rome, and gone back quietly to Chenaie. If in 1832, Lamennais had been humble and submissive, or even merely clever and far-seeing, he would have found himself in 1841, the leader again of the Catholic liberal school. But he ruined himself like a child owing both to the lack of pliancy in his mind and his disobedience to the successor of St. Peter. Never did any one perish more unnecessarily, and nothing could show more conclusively how far short he fell from being a Christian genius or even the successful captain of an army.

A few days after Lamennais' death, Father Gratry happened to be preaching at the Oratory in Paris. "Must we despair," he asked of the salvation of "his poor soul? No. In order that this striking example might teach a lesson, God permitted that his passing should appear without hope. Still he had done much for the upbuilding of religion in our country. May we not then feel that, unknown to us, he turned again to the fold, and that mercy was granted to him?" These words would seem to voice accurately the dispositions of every noble soul.

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²⁶ LACORDAIRE, *Lettres à Theophile Foisset*, Vol. II., pp. 227 seqq.

NECROLOGY

ALFRED CAUCHIE.

The news of the sudden death by accident at Rome of Canon Alfred Cauchie, Professor at the University of Louvain, came as a severe shock to his many friends and acquaintances in learned circles. Born at Haulchin, in the province of Hainaut, Belgium, on October 24, 1860, Alfred Cauchie was endowed by nature with the qualifications characteristic of the energetic, zealous race of the Walloons from whom he traced his lineage. After following the call to the priesthood, he spent his whole life in the field of education, centering his activities since 1889 at his beloved Alma Mater, the University of Louvain. Gifted with a spirit of discernment and the ability to take infinite pains with details, his criticism of sources was exceptional, whilst his keen intellect and great facility of expression served him faithfully and successfully in giving form to his investigations. His individual works were very numerous, as one may judge from the consideration that by the year 1910 as many as sixty books and articles had appeared under his name. Of these we single out the following for mention: *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et Cambrai, 1075-1107*; *Les chroniques brabançonnes*; *La chronique de St. Hubert dite "Cantatorium," le livre second des "Miracula Sancti Huberti" et la "Vita Abbatis Andaginensis"*; *Observations sur l'attribution de ces trois œuvres à Lambert le Jeune, moine de St. Hubert*; *Les universités d'autrefois: Paris et Bologne aux premiers temps de leur existence*; *Le Gallicanisme en Sorbonne d'après la correspondance de Bargellini, nonce de France (1668-1671)*; *Les études d'histoire ecclésiastique*; *L'extension de la juridiction du nonce de Bruxelles aux duchés de Limbourg et de Luxembourg en 1781*; *A propos du concile de Trent*; *Auguste von Druffel et Angelo Massarelli*; *Les instructions générales aux nonces des Pays-Bas espagnols (1596-1635)*; *Étude sur leur nature diplomatique et leur valeur historique*; *Recueil des instructions générales aux nonces de Flandre (1596-1635)*; *Rélations générales des nonces de Flandre*; *Ottavio Mirto Frangipani et Fabio della Lionessa en 1605 et 1634: I. Relation du nonce Ottavio Mirto Frangipani adressée au Pape Leon XI*; *La correspondance de Bentivoglio et les controverses de Jacques I, roi d'Angleterre, avec le cardinal Bellarmin*; *L'opposition à la juridiction de nonce de Cologne dans les Pays-Bas catholiques (1615-1783)*; *Analyses et extraits de documents*; *Les archives particulières de l'étranger et leur importance pour l'histoire des anciens Pays-Bas*; *The teaching of history at the university of Louvain (1834-1907)*; *Inventaires des archives de Marguerite de Parme, dressés après la mort de cette princesse, précédés d'une liste d'anciens inventaires, d'archives et de joyaux conservés aux archives farnésiennes à Naples*; *Inventaire des archives farnésiennes de Naples au point de vue de l'histoire des Pays-Bas catholiques*; *Les assemblées du clergé de France sous*

l'Ancien Régime: Matériaux et origines; Documents concernant la principauté de Liège (1230-1532) spécialement au début du XVI siècle: I et II; Le R. P. Charles De Smedt, S.J., président de la Société des Bollandistes (1833-1911); Le comte L. C. M. De Barbiano de Belgiojoso et ses papiers d'État conservés à Milan: contribution à l'histoire des réformes de Joseph II en Belgique; Mission aux archives vaticanes; Godefroid Kurth (1874-1916), le patriote, le chrétien, l'historien. To this must be added numerous reviews of books, which always served the reader as an unerring guide to the value of the work in question.

But his greatest fame resulted from his qualities of professor, his ability to instil into his students a spirit of labor, of love, and of enthusiasm in historical studies, and his genius of initiative and organization. As a professor who knew how to interest his classes, how to obtain the best work out of his students, and how to make them utilize their talents, he was not surpassed. By his counsel, direction, and even cooperation he was ever ready to assist his students in their enterprises, allowing them to reap for themselves renown which was due in no small part to his own labor. There was wanting entirely a spirit of ambition to realize for himself any glory which could be showered upon his students. In very fact, Professor Cauchie sacrificed himself exceedingly for his students, allowing his own subjects of investigation to lapse in order that he might devote himself to their assistance. As a result of this love for his students, it need hardly be remarked that a strong filial affection was engendered between professor and students. Having before them such an example of devotion, it required little to have the students cooperate with him. The most illustrious example of such cooperation is to be found in the work incidental to the publication of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* of Louvain, the standard of which is not equalled by any review in its domain and the success of which is everywhere proclaimed. With its first issue in 1900 Professor Cauchie shared with Monsignor Ladeuze, the present Rector of the University of Louvain, the chief-editorship, to become later sole editor-in-chief.

His reputation, however, was not confined to the university, or even to the country of Belgium; it was international. He was a member of the Académie royale de Belgique, member of the Commission royale d'histoire, chairman of the interdiocesan commission to gather the documents pertaining to the Church in Belgium during the Great War, and corresponding member of the Institute of France. Upon his initiative was begun a collection belge de manuels d'histoire, destined for purposes of secondary education. In 1920 he was appointed Director of the Belgian historical Institute at Rome, which he had been instrumental in having established by the Belgian government some years previously. Indeed, Professor Cauchie was noted for his initiative. He knew how to begin enterprise. His work was that of the "creator," the "sower of the good seed." His ever-burning zeal and his practical sense knew how to bring his creations to a successful issue and to continue their existence even during hazardous times. Additional lustre will be shed upon his name by the circumstance that his work

will live long after him. For at the university of Louvain he founded a real school of history, whose renown depends not on the reputation of one man, but on the combined excellence of its various professors. His work lives on likewise in the historical scholars who acquired their training at this school and who are now masters in their own countries, with schools of history under their charge in Belgium, England, United States, Canada, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy and Spain. To these students of history the example of Professor Cauchie will ever serve as an incentive to indefatigable work in the science of history for the best interests of the Church and of mankind.

REV. JOHN H. LAMOTT, PH.D.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Rev. Williston Walker, D.D., Ph.D., professor of ecclesiastical history in Yale University and also provost of the University, member of the editorial board of the *American Historical Review* died at New Haven, Conn., March 9th in his sixty-first year. Professor Walker taught in the Hartford Theological Seminary 1889-1901, prior to his call to Yale where he gave work in the Graduate School as well as in the Divinity School. Recognized as the ablest historian of the Congregational creed, he was the author of *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893), *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (1894), a study on *The Reformation* (1900), a *Life of Calvin* (1906) besides a considerable number of short articles. As a scholar, he was a man of marked personal tolerance and kindly in his attention to younger scholars whom he delighted to encourage.

LOUIS DUCHESNE.

There died in Rome on Friday night, April 21, Mgr. Louis Duchesne, Director of the French School of History and Archeology in Rome, member of the French Academy, where he succeeded the historian, Stephen Lamy, Commander of the Legion of Honour, etc., and one of the most learned men of our day, a Breton, born at Saint-Servan on September 13, 1843, Mgr. Duchesne was ordained priest in 1867, and ten years later gained his doctorate by a theses in Latin and French on the *Liber Pontificalis*. From the Conference mastership at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes he passed to the Institut Catholique of Paris as professor of Christian Archaeology and History. As a member of the French schools of Athens and Rome he was entrusted in the seventies with missions to Mount Athos, Salonika, Patmos, and the south of Asia Minor. In 1888 he was elected a member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Literature; in 1900 came the honour of

a Prothonotary Apostolic and of election to the chair in the French Academy rendered vacant by the death of Cardinal Mathieu. The year following he was nominated as Consultor of the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics in Rome, and in 1913 was chosen by the French Government as the Director of the French School in the Eternal City.

Chief among his works, which included many articles in the learned reviews, are the following:— *Mémoire sur une mission au Mont-Athos, la Représentation des mages en Orient et en Occident depuis les premiers siècles* (1877); *Vita S. Polycarpi autore Pionio* (1881); *La Crypte de Mellébaude et les prétendus martyrs de Poitiers* (1885); *Etude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* (1889); *Les Anciens Catalogues épiscopaux de la ville de Tours* (1890); an edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* which was his *magnum opus*; *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*; *Vie de sainte Geneviève* (1893); *Origines du culte chrétien* (1897), which has been translated into English, and a *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*. The last work caused some sensation, for in its Italian translation it was placed on the Index until certain modifications had been made by the author.

The London *Tablet* says of him:

By his rigid application of scientific methods of research and judgment, by his caustic tongue and pen, Mgr. Duchesne was regarded by some as a scoffer and a vandal among pious traditions. But by those who knew him, he was regarded as a master of the sciences which are auxiliary to ecclesiastical history. Thus the learned de Rossi, who wrote on the Catacombs, said: "I write nothing without asking myself what Duchesne thinks of it." Mgr. d'Hulst, on his foundation of the Institut Catholique, placed him as a young priest in its Chair of Church History. Mgr. Batiffol, in a lecture to the students at Strasburg a few weeks ago, crowned such witness with the following: "You cannot doubt the service which Mgr. Duchesne renders to us." M. Georges Goyau, in a discerning article in Sunday's *Figaro*, points out how it was Duchesne who disposed of a German critic who would rob Paris of her patrons, St. Geneviève; who at the Sorbonne established the historical arguments on the antiquity of the primacy of the Apostolic See; and who in his "Origins of Christian Worship" pointed out the two-fold sacredness of ancient rites which come to us from God by Christ and the Church, and are still further hallowed to us by the piety of so many generations of men. M. Goyau then sums up the case as follows: "A Duchesne, the champion of a saint! a Duchesne, establishing in the secular Sorbonne the titles of the Apostolic See to Christian credence; a Duchesne, moved to tenderness over the old missals in which so many souls felt the finger of God, and by which their souls were lifted up to Him; such a one must be a surprise, for those who would see in him but a destroyer of legends, a Voltaire in a cassock." To his Catholic loyalty and fervour there is also abundant testimony. When in 1877

his first book had aroused criticism in Rome he wrote: "Reared in respect and obedience to the Roman Church, it needs no effort on my part to do what so dear and venerated authority may require of me." In his native Saint-Servan, where he had a little lodging, he was popularly known as "le bon aumonier," and his own explanation of why he said Mass in the adjoining parish church rather than in the Palazzo Farnese was that he wished to have around him the souls of pious women to pray with him. That is not the spirit of an iconoclast.

Mgr. Duchesne's activities as a writer, at one time brought him disappointment and sorrow, but he proved himself a true and faithful son of the Church. He had many enthusiastic and distinguished disciples, and what is more, a host of faithful friends. Only a few days before his death he had been received most cordially in audience by the Holy Father whose personal esteem he had long enjoyed. The ecclesiastical world is the poorer by the passing of this distinguished Breton scholar.

MISCELLANY

CANADA'S GREATEST CHAPLAIN.

Among the many heroic characters in the history of our country, the figure of Canada's greatest chaplain—Alexander Macdonell, First Bishop of Upper Canada—looms out of the cloud of the past to challenge and inspire the men of this generation. In the whole history of Canada there cannot be found anyone who was more passionately patriotic than he. It was his fortune to have lived during the one war in the world's history which, for extent of territory engaged, and importance of principles at stake, can alone be compared to the present war—namely the War which began with the French Revolution and ended only some twenty-five years later, after two continents had been deluged with blood.

Twice a founder of a regiment, twice in the midst of national rebellions, on two continents a military chaplain on the firing line—his life is a singularly romantic and inspiring one. Only the barest outlines of his career as a military chaplain and statesman will be traced in this paper, his work as a churchman being outside of our scope.

Alexander Macdonell was born on 17th of July in the year 1762 (and not in 1760 as is sometimes stated), at Inchlaggan in Glengarry, Scotland. He belonged to the Macdonell clan of Glengarry. The first thirty years of his life were much the same as that of other Scottish priests of the time. His primary education he received in Gaelic and English in a school held in a cousin's house near his home. As, owing to the penal laws, a priest could not be educated in Scotland, young Macdonell was sent for his classical, philosophical and theological studies first to the Scots College in Paris and then to the Scots College in Valladolid, Spain, where he was ordained priest in 1787, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He returned to Scotland and was placed as missionary priest on the borders of the Counties of Inverness and Perth, the highest inhabited parts of the Highlands of Scotland. He remained there five years. It was a transition period in Scotland. The clan system had begun to collapse after Culloden, and the land passed from the clans to individual proprietors. Under the changed economic conditions—resulting partly from Glasgow becoming a great industrial centre,—the landlords found it more profitable to raise sheep than men. They began a policy of wholesale eviction. Not allowed by the rapacity of landlords to live at home, the Highlanders were prevented by the British Government from emigrating, as it was feared they would go to the United States. The Admiralty had given orders to "press" all able-bodied Highlanders found on emigrant ships. It was at this juncture in the year 1792 that Father Macdonell, or as he was then called, Mr. Macdonell, or, more familiarly in Gaelic, Maighstir Alastair, quit the secluded life of a country priest and entered into a wider field.

He went to Glasgow and obtained for his evicted parishioners, as well

as for some shipwrecked Highland emigrants whom he had harboured, employment in the recently established cotton mills. In the summer of that year 1792, he took up residence in Glasgow, the first priest to live there since the Catholic Chapel and priest's house had been burned by the mob during the Gordon Riots twelve years before. Within a few months, he brought 600 Highlanders to Glasgow and got them employment. He at once opened a Catholic chapel and preached the Gospel in Gaelic and English without being molested—though the Penal Laws were yet on the Statute Books. The following year Britain declared war against the French Republic, and the consequent business depression soon threw the Highlanders out of employment.

It was at this critical moment that their priest, with that resourcefulness which never failed him, conceived the idea of embodying his Highlanders in a Catholic corps in His Majesty's service under the command of their young chief Glengarry. This was a time when no Catholic could join the British Army without forswearing his religion. He organized a meeting at Fort Augustus and proceeded on a deputation to London, where he was graciously received by King George III. and was entirely successful. The First Glengarry Fencible Regiment was accordingly raised in 1794, as a purely Catholic corps, the first since the Reformation. Rev. Alexander Macdonell was gazetted as Chaplain, law to the contrary. It is no exaggeration to say that, with the organization of this Catholic Highland regiment, Alexander Macdonell enters the stage of the world's history. His zealous and far-seeing patriotism was henceforth one of the forces which were to build up the British Empire. The first Catholic Chaplain of the British Army in modern times was one of the greatest army chaplains that ever lived. The Glengarry Fencibles, unlike the four or five Regiments which had been previously raised in Scotland and which had mutinied when ordered to England, then endangered by the spread of French Revolutionary principles, were persuaded by their chaplain to volunteer to serve outside of Scotland. This offer was welcomed by the Government, as it served as a precedent for future Fencible regiments. They were accordingly sent in 1795 to Guernsey, and in 1798 to Ireland, to quell the rebellion there. They took part in the Battle of Vinegar Hill and spent the winter under tents in the Wicklow Mountains in pursuit of Dwyer. The chaplain always accompanied his regiment in the field with the view of preventing the men from plundering, and thus constantly exposed his life to danger. On countless occasions he saved the lives of prisoners from the barbarous yeomanry whose outrages had goaded the Catholic peasantry of Wicklow and Wexford into defensive rebellion. The Catholic chapels which the yeomanry had converted into stables, he had restored to their proper religious use. During his four years' campaign in Ireland, when his Highlanders were engaged in stamping out the last vestiges of the Irish rebellion, Chaplain Macdonell not only shared all the privations, hardships and dangers of his soldiers, but managed at the same time to be a ministering angel of peace to his fellow-Catholics and fellow-Gaels—the men of '98.

During the short Peace of Amiens in 1802 the British Government,

singularly misjudging Napoleon and imagining that an era of peace had come, disbanded the Fencible Regiments. The men of Glengarry were once more destitute. Their chaplain again proved himself a resourceful patriot. Emigrate they must; their chaplain determined on a plan of emigration that would be most profitable to the British Empire. The bulk of Scots had hitherto emigrated to the United States. Chaplain Macdonell determined that his men should go to a British Dominion, and chose Upper Canada, where, in the present County of Glengarry, there was already a large settlement of Catholic Highlanders, chiefly Macdonells of Glengarry, Scotland. The Premier, Mr. Addington, considered that the hold Britian had on Upper Canada was so slender and precarious that he could not be justified in aiding emigration there. This objection the Chaplain answered by proposing a plan for the organization of a Military Emigration, to be composed of the disbanded Scotch Fencible soldiers. This would serve to settle the country with men of sound British traditions and defend it in case of war against the United States. The scheme was on the verge of being put into effect, when Addington had to resign. His successor, Pitt, did not take it up. Years later Bishop Macdonell considered this one of the great lost opportunities of his life. During the war of 1812 the value of these soldier-emigrants would have been inestimable. Had the Government adopted this policy, not only would millions of money have been saved, but Upper Canada would have been enormously strengthened. In 1803 war with France was renewed, and the most vexatious regulations were laid on emigration. Though Chaplain Macdonell had received an order from Premier Addington for a grant of 200 acres for each Highlander that he should bring into Upper Canada, the Chaplain had almost to smuggle his men away, so many were the obstacles, legal and other, which Scottish landlords put in his way. An incident which shows the uncompromising nature of his patriotism occurred when the Colonial Secretary of State, to avoid the charge of aiding emigration urged by the landlords, advised him to conduct his emigrants to Canada via the United States. The British Government in that case would not have to give any land grants, as Upper Canada gave 200 acres of land to any settler coming from the United States. To this Chaplain Macdonell replied that he would not bring his men through the United States, lest in their journey they might become contaminated with the anti-monarchical principles of that country. In 1804, having sent ahead to Canada all the men he could, he himself embarked. He reached York, now Toronto, November 1, of that year.

For the next thirty-five years he was a tower of strength in Upper Canada. From the Parish of St. Raphael's in the County of Glengarry, which he made his home for the first twenty-five years, he looked after not only the religious interests of the Catholics of Upper Canada, but also the national, educational and even political and economic interests of his fellow-citizens irrespective of race or creed.

To trace his ecclesiastical career is outside the scope of this paper. To do so it would be necessary to trace the ecclesiastical history of Ontario for thirty-five years. I shall confine myself to his work as an imperial and

Canadian patriot. No sooner was he in Upper Canada than he saw the military unpreparedness of the Province. While half its settlers were United Empire Loyalists, who were staunch supporters of British institutions, the other half were recent settlers from the United States, who favoured annexation. "The thin red line" which the settlers formed along the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie, from Glengarry to Essex, had many gaps in it and was a poor defence against the powerful American Republic, which was then bitterly anti-English. The ex-military chaplain, with the keen eye of an old campaigner, saw the necessity of a strong defence. Appointed in 1806 Vicar-General of Upper Canada,—with the whole of Upper Canada, except the French parish at Sandwich, to administer without the assistance of a single priest, a state of affairs which lasted for ten years—he became acquainted with every settlement of the Province. On Col. Brock, who that year was appointed the Commandant of the Forces in Canada, he urged the necessity of strengthening the military defence. He proposed to raise a corps of Highland Fencibles in Glengarry, he to act as chaplain. It must be remembered that the men of Glengarry were nearly all soldiers, or sons of soldiers. The first settlement had been by the Macdonells, who had settled in the Mohawk Valley in the present New York State before the Revolutionary War, and who had fought all through that war on Britain's side, being largely responsible for Western Canada being saved to the Empire. The second settlement had come in 1786 directly from Glengarry in Scotland under the leadership of Rev. Roderick Macdonell, who till his death in 1806 guided his fellow-clansmen and country-men of Stormont County from the Indian mission of St. Regis. The third immigration was that of the Glengarry Fencible veterans under the leadership of their chaplain. No better recruiting ground than the County of Glengarry could then be found in the Empire. Though Brock approved of the formation of a Glengarry Regiment, its necessity was not seen at Downing Street. Vicar-General Macdonell nevertheless continued his efforts, and had this scheme approved in 1808 by Major-General Brock, and by the Governor of Canada, Sir James Craig. There was, however, a delay in carrying out the proposal.

However, in December, 1811, when war with the United States was seen to be imminent, Vicar-General Macdonell and Captain George Macdonell, the son of a hero of Culloden and the Plains of Abraham, approached Brock, who was now, in addition to being Commander of the Forces, Administrator of Upper Canada. The regiment known as the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles was formed in January, 1812, and Red George Macdonell and the Vicar-General passed the Fiery Cross through Glengarry. So successful was the recruiting that the next month Sir George Provost, the Governor-General, accepted Brock's proposal to recruit two additional companies, which was accordingly done. The Glengarry Fencibles, some 800 strong, took part in fourteen engagements during the War of 1812. At Queenstown Heights, Ogdensburg, Stony Creek and Lundy's Lane the men of Glengarry shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-Canadians taught the Americans that Canadians were both willing and able to defend their country. If Alexander Macdonell had not become a priest, he

would most certainly have become a General. Even as it was, he was one of Brock's most trusty military advisers. For example, in 1812, he urged upon Brock and Prevost the military necessity of a road between Upper and Lower Canada, and in 1813 an Act was passed to open it up, Rev. Alexander Macdonell being one of the road commissioners.

Father Macdonell, or Mr. Macdonell as he was then called, was, it will be remembered, the first modern Catholic chaplain in the British Army. He was ideally fitted for this position. Six feet four in height, of an iron constitution, fearless courage and indomitable will, he was an inspiration to the soldiers. In order to impress by example as well as exhortation on the minds of his flock the necessity of defending this country, he was, during the whole of the War of 1812, constantly on the field participating in the privations and fatigues of the private soldier. At Queenstown Heights he administered the last rites to his nephew, Lieut.-Col. John Macdonell, Attorney-General of Upper Canada, who, after Brock had fallen, led the forces up Queenstown Heights.

Chaplain Macdonell also took part in the Capture of Ogdensburg on February 23, 1813—one of the most daring exploits of the war. Red George Macdonell, now a Lieut.-Colonel, was in charge at Prescott of 500 men, 250 regulars and 250 militia, two-thirds of the force being Glengarry Highlanders. On the other side of the St. Lawrence—here a mile and a half wide—was the fortified post of Ogdensburg. Governor Prevost, himself an old soldier, had forbidden the daring Red George to attempt an attack, as the risk was too great. However, his Highland blood was up and he meant to defeat the enemy. Accordingly he rushed his men across the thin ice, which cracked beneath their feet, dashed up the river bank through the deep snow and after a furious fight captured the fort of Ogdensburg.

Two characteristic stories are told about the chaplain at Ogdensburg. As the Highlanders marched across the thin ice of the St. Lawrence, relates Sir John A. Macdonald, on one flank was the chaplain with the Cross in his hand, to urge on his Catholic clansmen, while on the other was a brave Presbyterian minister, Mr. MacKenzie, holding up the Bible as an encouragement to those of his persuasion. One of the chaplain's flock felt somewhat nervous under fire and showed a disposition to fall to the rear: the chaplain ordered him to stand fast: but his orders were disobeyed. As an example became immediately necessary, the chaplain, who as Vicar-General had extensive powers—there and then excommunicated him. "It would have been better for the man to have faced the Yankees than the wrath of Maighstir Alastair, when, the enemy being in front, his blood was up and the terrors of the Church were at his disposal."

Mr. Kenneth Ross of Lancaster is the authority for the following story about his father and the chaplain: "Ross was wounded in the attack on Ogdensburg and was carried into the house of an innkeeper near Prescott—a half-Yankee like many of his ilk along the border. The chaplain saw that the wounded man was as much in need of stimulants as of priestly counsel, and went at once in search of some brandy. Excuses of various kinds were made by the woman of the house: her husband was absent and had the

keys, and so on. The chaplain told her that he would take no denial, and that if she did not procure the brandy at once, he would have it on short order. She still demurred, whereupon he walked to the tap room door and with one kick lifted it off its hinges, and not only Mr. Ross but all others of His Majesty's liege subjects had all the brandy they required after their hard day's fighting." J. A. Macdonell of Alexandria, from whose sketch of the *Life of Bishop Macdonell* I have taken this and the preceding story, concludes as follows: "Though Mr. Ross was a Presbyterian and the Chaplain a Catholic priest, I doubt if he could have been better served in his extremity by a minister of his own denomination!" I may add, that apart from a study of some of the letters, memoirs and pamphlets of Bishop Macdonell contained in the Canadian Archives, I have derived more information concerning the military career of the Bishop from J. A. Macdonell's sketch than from any-thing else.

When the War was over and Canada freed from the invader, Vicar-General Macdonell was sent by Mgr. Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, to England on an important mission. Quebec Diocese then included the whole of Canada. Bishop Plessis wished to obtain the permission of the British Government to have it divided. He intended among other things to make Father Macdonell Bishop of Upper Canada. Accordingly Father Macdonell went to Europe in 1816, to deal with this and other questions. After several interviews and much correspondence with the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst, and others, he succeeded in getting grants of £100 a year for three priests and three school masters. His own pension had, in recognition for his services during the War of 1812, been increased from fifty pounds to one hundred pounds. At this time the only schools in Canada, apart from eight district schools chiefly conducted by Church of England clergymen, were taught by American teachers of strong anti-British tendencies. The founding of a system of primary, secondary and University education for the Catholics in Upper Canada was one of the principal endeavours of their pastor. With regard to the formation of a new diocese, as none had been established in the British Empire since the Reformation, Bathurst preferred to have Vicars-General with episcopal powers appointed where needed, rather than have diocesan sees established. Father Macdonell returned to Canada in 1817 with his three priests and three secondary school teachers. On 12th January, 1819, he was appointed Bishop of Resina in partibus infidelium, and Vicar-General of Upper Canada. He was consecrated on December 31st of the following year at the Ursuline Convent, Quebec. The national importance of this episcopal consecration may be estimated from the fact that his episcopal ring was a present from King George IV.

In 1824, affairs of Church and State again called him to England. He endeavoured to get help and priests to start a college at St. Raphael's, Glengarry, sought to direct emigration, and to get the objection to the creation of a see at Kingston removed. To show how successful were his efforts as regards emigration, we have but to take his own account near the end of his life, that from the emigration of his Fencible soldiers in 1802 to that moment, not one Scottish Catholic had emigrated either to the United

States or to any other country outside of the British Empire. When it is considered that the majority of Scottish Protestants, and of Irish, both Catholic and Protestant, during this period emigrated to the United States, this is a wonderful record. About this time, that is, 1824, a large emigration began to roll from Ireland to Canada. A cry was raised that the Irish Catholics were disloyal and would not make desirable emigrants. Bishop Macdonell thus vouched for them to Lord Bathurst: "Should my Lord Bathurst be pleased to allow the means of supporting a sufficient number of Catholic clergymen and school-masters for Upper Canada, and the selection of them be left to me, I would not hesitate for a moment to become responsible with my life for the general good conduct and loyalty of the Irish Roman Catholics emigrating to Canada." Fifteen years later in Canada during the troublesome times of the rebellion of '37 and '38 the Bishop in a pastoral to his Irish Catholic flock referring to this, said: "Yes, my friends, I pledged my life for your good conduct, and during the fifteen years which have elapsed since that pledge was given, I have had no cause to regret the confidence I placed in your honor and your loyalty." Having paid an ad limina visit to Rome, Bishop Macdonell returned to Canada in 1825. The division of Quebec diocese was finally effected, and in 1826 Bishop Macdonell became Bishop of Kingston. Till his death in 1840, Kingston Diocese embraced the whole of Upper Canada.

In 1831 Bishop Macdonell's services as a patriot and statesman were recognized by the Crown by his being called to the Legislative Council of Upper Canada. He secured grants of land and money for Catholic schools and churches. There was, however, a party of Radicals in Upper Canada, who hated any public grants for denominational purposes, whether Anglican, Presbyterian or Catholic. William Lyon MacKenzie made a bitter attack on Bishop Macdonell, in which he was assisted by an unfrocked priest. The Bishop answered by a magnificent letter to Sir Francis Bond Head. This is such an important historical document that it is well to give it in full. I follow the text of the copy found in the Canadian Archives, M. 845. The Archdeacon of Toronto to whom the Bishop refers in such a fraternal manner, was, of course, the noted Anglican statesman and churchman, Dr. Strachan.

LETTER TO SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

"Kingston, 7th March, 1836.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated the 17th ult. conveying to me extracts from dispatches of Earl Ripon and Lord Glenelg, and of an Address of the House of Assembly of this Province, dated the 15th of last month, to His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head. The Lieutenant-Governor will, I trust, have the goodness to indulge me with the liberty of making some remarks on a few passages of this extraordinary production of the Honourable the House of Assembly.

"The assertion in the Address that the country has long felt much

grieved by observing the appointment of the Chief Justice to a seat in the Speakership in the Legislative Council is wholly groundless and has not the least foundation in truth. No suspicion of partial or impure administration of justice, as regards the present Chief Justice, was ever harboured in any other hearts but in those of the framers of the Address, who form their judgment of the honour and integrity of others from the total absence of these motives in themselves. Nor was the slightest suspicion of the kind ever expressed by any others but those who had been carefully tutored to echo the clamours of a reckless faction who, finding their wicked attempts to overturn the Government frustrated, have determined by every means in their power to disturb the peace of the Province. In regard to the Archdeacon of Toronto, having myself so seldom the honour of attending the Legislative Council, all I can say is, that I never saw him engaged in any political discussions of any kind, and never heard of his being engaged in political strife, but I have heard of his unwearied attention to his pastoral functions and his charity to the poor and indigent of his own and other persuasions, and I believe that all the respectable characters in the Province will join me in this testimony.

"As to the charges against myself, I feel very little affected by them, having the consolation to think that fifty years spent in the faithful discharge of my duty to God and my country, have established my character upon a foundation too solid to be shaken by the malicious calumnies of two notorious slanderers.

"I must indeed be possessed of more than the common share of vanity, if at the advanced age of seventy-four years, with a worn out constitution and in a very frail state of health, I could encounter the fatigues of a winter journey of 400 miles, through bad roads and bad accommodation, for the honour of sitting for a few days in the Legislative Council, were I sure that the state of my health after such a journey would permit me to enjoy that honour. The very idea is absurd, and only shows the vindictive malice of the two individuals who brought this charge against me, knowing it to be false, and merely to expose my name to public censure and obloquy, having drawn upon myself their mortal hatred by a conscientious discharge of a paramount duty—that if the one, by dismissing him from the sacred ministry on account of scandalous and immoral conduct, that of the other by instilling into the minds of my flock principles of attachment and loyalty to their Sovereign and the Constitution of their Country, thus preventing his mischievous endeavours to alienate their minds from the one and the other by his revolutionary harangues and writings. If this be a crime it is a crime for which I can never expect forgiveness. So far indeed from repenting it, neither racks nor gibbets shall ever deter me from so sacred a duty.

"The next charge against me in the Address is that I neglected my spiritual functions and the care of souls to devote my time and talents to political strife and secular measure. To refute this false charge, it may not be improper to look back to the state of this Province when I arrived in it in 1804. There were then but two Catholic churches and two Catholic

clergymen in the whole of Upper Canada. One of these clergymen soon deserted his post, and the other, who resided in the Township of Sandwich in the Western District, never went beyond the limits of his mission, so that upon entering upon my pastoral duty, I had the whole remaining part of the Province to minister to, and without any assistance for a period of ten years. During that period I had to travel over the country from Lake Superior to the Province line of Lower Canada in discharge of my pastoral functions, carrying the sacred vestments, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on my own back, and sometimes in Indian birch canoes, living with savages and without any other shelter or comfort but what their fires and their fares and the branches of trees afforded; and crossing the Great Lakes and even descending the Rapids of the St. Lawrence in their dangerous and wretched crafts. Nor were the hardships and privations which I endured among the new settlers and emigrants less than what I had to encounter among the savages themselves, in their miserable shanties exposed on all sides to the weather and destitute of any comfort. In this way I have been spending my time and my health, year after year, since I have been in Upper Canada, and not clinging to a seat in the Legislative Council or devoting my time to political strife, as my accusers are pleased to assert. The erection of five and thirty Catholic churches and chapels, great and small, although many of them are yet in an unfinished state, built by my exertions, and the zealous exertions of two and twenty clergymen, the major part of them having been educated at my own expense, afford a substantial proof that I have not neglected my spiritual functions or the care of souls under my charge; and if that be not sufficient I can produce satisfactory documents to prove that I have expended, since I have been in this Province, no less than thirteen thousand pounds of my own private means, besides what I received from other quarters, in the building of churches, chapels, presbyteries and school-houses, in rearing young men for the Church and promoting general education. With a full knowledge of these facts established beyond the possibility of a contradiction, my accusers can have but little regard for truth when they tax me with neglecting my spiritual functions and the care of souls.

"The framers of the Address to His Excellency knew perfectly well that I never held or enjoyed a situation or place of profit or emolument, except the salary which my Sovereign was graciously pleased to bestow upon me in reward for forty years' faithful services to my country. Having been instrumental in getting two corps of my flock raised and embodied in defence of their country in critical times, viz., the First Glengarry Fencible Regiment was raised by my influence as a Catholic corps during the Irish rebellion, whose dangers and fatigues I shared in that distracted country, and contributed in no small degree to repress the rapacity of the soldiery and bring back the deluded people to a sense of their duty to their Sovereign and submission to the laws. Ample and honourable testimonials of their services and my conduct may be found in the Government office at Toronto. The Second Glengarry Fencible Regiment, raised in this Province when the Government of the United States invaded and expected to

make a conquest of Canada, was planned by me and partly raised by my influence. My zeal in the service of my country and my exertion in the defence of this Province were acknowledged by his late Majesty through Earl Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. My salary was then increased and a seat was assigned me in the Legislative Council as a distinguished mark of my Sovereign's favour, an honour that I should consider it a disgrace to resign, although I can hardly expect to sit in the Council, nor do I believe that Lord Glenelg, who knows something of me, would expect that I should show so much imbecility in my latter days as to relinquish a mark of honour, conferred on me by my Sovereign, to gratify the vindictive malice of a few unprincipled Radicals. So far, however, from repining at the cruel and continued persecution of my enemies, I pray God to give me patience to suffer for justice' sake, and to forgive them their unjust and unmerited conduct towards me.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"ALEXR. MACDONELL."

I. Joseph, Esq.,

Secretary to His Excellency,

Sir Francis Bond Head, etc., etc., etc.

Things were now rapidly heading for a crisis in Upper Canada; Mackenzie, impatient at what he considered the ineffectual results of constitutional agitation, was determining upon a revolution. Bishop Macdonell's services were again at the disposal of his country. He considered the election of 1836 an open fight between the Revolutionary Radicals and the Constitutional Party. He published a strong address to the Catholic and Protestant electors of Stormont and Glengarry, urging them to support the Government. In this important election the Catholic vote went solidly against MacKensie, whose party was defeated. So delighted were the Protestant Conservatives with the Bishop's attitude that the Orange Body of the City of Toronto presented Bishop Macdonell with an address for his loyalty and liberality. The Bishop answered by saying that Orangemen and Catholics should stand shoulder to shoulder in the defence of the Constitution. In his address to the electors of Stormont and Glengarry the Bishop had thus described his relations with his Protestant fellow-citizens:

"I address my Protestant as well as my Catholic friends because I feel assured that during the long period of four and forty years that my intercourse with some of you, and two and thirty years with others, has subsisted, no man will say in promoting your temporal interest I ever made any difference between Catholic and Protestant: and indeed I have found Protestants upon all occasions as ready to meet my wishes and second my efforts to promote the public good as the Catholics themselves; and it is with no small gratification that I here acknowledge having received from Orangemen unequivocal and substantial proofs of disinterested friendship and generosity of heart."

During 1837 and 1838 the Bishop was much concerned at the military unpreparedness of the country. He saw that Sir Francis Bond Head's military blunders might easily be fatal. He again proposed the formation of a Fencible Corps in Glengarry which would, with other regular troops, defend both Upper and Lower Canada from internal and external foes. Next year he pointed out that if these Highlanders had been sent to Lower Canada in 1837 as they volunteered to go, there would have been no rebellion there the following year. The military inefficiency of the superannuated colonels of militia and the hesitation and indecision of magistrates caused much anxiety. Canada was in the gravest of perils, and the military officials were singularly careless. On the 20th February, 1838, the Bishop wrote from Kingston to a Mr. Manahan, M.P.P., saying that the Yankees had 5,000 men mustered in St. John's Island on the way to attack Kingston probably that very night. "We have only 160 militia men to oppose this force. We might have had 2,000 had not Sir Francis and yourself robbed the town of the arms that were deposited in it for its defence. Had Kingston been allowed to remain in the state it was left after the last war, it would have bidden defiance to all the power of the State of New York, and proved an impregnable bulwark to Upper Canada." Unfortunately, the Home Government, deceived by interested persons in Toronto, had caused Kingston to be dismantled, and the noble navy yard to be completely annihilated, and the immense naval stores to be sold for a mere nothing. One ship of 160 guns, which had cost about half a million of money, was sold for \$100. Then, again, the Duke of Wellington had set aside £70,000 to build a fort at Kingston, but after a long delay a small confined fort capable of containing 300 men was built. "Our rulers," concluded the Bishop, "have much to answer for!" However, the rebels and their Yankee recruits did not succeed in crossing the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile Bishop Macdonell was stirring up the people. He delivered, 1st November, 1838, a warlike address to the men of Glengarry who had in great numbers responded to the call to arms, and a month later an address to the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada, telling them to stand by the constitution. And so they did. As a proof that Bishop Macdonell was considered a tower of strength to the Constitution in Canada, Major-General Sir George Arthur, who in 1838 was in charge of Upper Canada, specially requested him to delay his proposed trip to Europe, as his services were so valuable at home. To this same General he wrote: "Should your Excellency determine to raise a corps of Irish Roman Catholics under the command of Colonel Baldwin of the Gore, Toronto, I would pledge my life that your Excellency cannot muster a more loyal, more gallant or a more efficient corps in this or any other Province, and old and stiff as I am, I am willing and ready to go to Toronto to attend them if they require my presence." To Lord Durham he was able to report that "all the Irish Catholics and the whole of the Scotch Highlanders have given the most un-equivocal proofs of their loyalty and attachment to the British Constitution by rushing to arms at the first call of the Government."

The fact that some of the Catholic French Canadians of Lower Canada

rebelled was a deep humiliation for him. He lays the guilt, however, at the right door. "The most inexcusable part, however, of the conduct of the Canadians was not to listen to the advise of their clergy, who knew well that the intention of Papineau and his associates was to destroy their influence and extinguish the Catholic religion, which he (Papineau) publicly declared to be absolutely necessary, before liberty could be established in Lower Canada." Bishop Macdonell admitted that there were political grievances, but he very rightly insisted upon remedying them by constitutional means.

When the storm had spent itself, and Canada no longer feared domestic or foreign foes, Bishop Macdonell decided to make a visit to Great Britain. Now, as during his whole life, his mission was a two-fold one; one which concerned his church, getting funds for Regiopolis College, which he had just established—and one which concerned his country, namely, directing emigration from Ireland and Scotland. Though he was in feeble health, he determined to go. He interviewed the British Government in London in 1839, but before he could finish his work with the Irish and Scottish Bishops, he took a cold of which he died January 14, 1840, at Dumfries, Scotland. He was then seventy-eight years of age. He died as he had lived, for God and country.

Bishop Macdonell, though he fortunately left a vast number of letters, published scarcely anything. In 1833, however, he wrote for the *Canadian Literary Magazine*, an article tracing his history from the day that he and his men left the Highlands in 1792 till they arrived in Upper Canada twelve years later. In 1839, when the Bishop had left for England, there was published at Kingston a booklet of 54 pages, entitled "A Short Account of the Emigration from the Highlands of Scotland to North America and the Establishment of the Catholic Diocese of Upper Canada." This, which also exists in a slightly different form in manuscript, was written by the Bishop. The appendix of this book contains some addresses and memorials of the Bishop dealing with the Rebellion of '37 and the foundation of Regiopolis. This little book, which is in the Canadian Archives, should be reprinted. It is now so rare that there is not even a copy of it in the Library of Parliament.

It is a pity that two brief booklets—one by the late Chevalier Macdonell, and one by J. A. Macdonell, K.C., of Alexandria—represent the only attempts made to write the biography of a man who played such an important role in the history of Canada and the British Empire as Bishop Macdonell. Copies of his letters lie on the shelves of the Canadian Archives at Ottawa awaiting an editor to introduce them to the reading public. The history of Upper Canada and the history of Canada's relation to the Empire cannot be written until this is done. Perhaps these words may induce some careful historian to make known to the world Canada's greatest Chaplain, Alexander Macdonell, Bishop and Patriot.

REV. JOHN J. O'GORMAN, D.C.L.

Ottawa,
Canada.

THE LOUVAIN AMERICAN COLLEGE.

The name of the city of Louvain was heralded throughout the world by the Great War more than it ever was through its five-century old university. It became famous overnight by one of these deeds of which the memory perdures down the centuries to shame humanity for its own perverseness. That deed, the sack of the city and the utter annihilation of the University Library with its wealth of incunabula, manuscripts, busts, paintings, architectural and sculptural treasures, revolted the civilized nations of the earth; and in the United States, we are told, the shock the first tidings caused, was heightened by fears for another institution connected with the University, part and parcel of it, yet a cairn abroad of the land of Stars and Stripes. That institution was the College of the Immaculate Conception, a theological and philosophical school for future laborers in the Lord's vineyard of the New World. Had it been destroyed? Had it escaped the general havoc? These questions repeated by hundreds of its well-wishers, were echoed and re-echoed from Atlantic to Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf. The answer happily was, that it escaped the general conflagration; and thus it came to pass that millions who did not know before, now know that in the wantonly burned city there is a home, American in name, American in origin, American in scope and purpose, American in all its being and existence—America and Catholic. It belongs to the Church and it belongs to America and therefore, though thousands of miles away from the land which lays just claim upon it, it occupies its own peculiar place in that land's history, particularly in its Church History. As the aim of *The Catholic Historical Review* is to collect material for the History of the American Catholic Church, yea, to write that history for the edification of present and future generations, an account of that Louvain American home dedicated to the glorious Patroness of the Church in the United States, to Mary Immaculate, of its birth in 1857 and its continued existence ever since belongs to the field which the Editors of the *Review* have chosen to cultivate.

What caused this college to be founded and why was it located in Louvain?

The pressing need in the United States of more priests to attend to the immigrants that flocked thither in larger numbers than before in the early fifties; the particularly favorable situation of Belgium at the cross-roads of Northern European nations; the thorough Catholic spirit of the Belgian people; their missionary enterprise, which since the day when St. Francis Xavier wrote, *Da mihi Belgas*, had in no wise diminished; the opportunity offered at Louvain to train young men at the least possible expense to the then poor and struggling American Bishops; and finally, the special facilities proffered to learn the languages spoken by the immigrant and native born.

Belgians had distinguished themselves as missionaries in America ere the American College was thought of and even before the United States had developed into a nation. A Belgian, Father Louis Hennepin, (1640-

1701) was one of the early explorers of the North West; another Belgian, Leo de Neckere had been Bishop of New Orleans (1829-1833); the second Bishop of Chicago, James Van de Velde, (1849-1853) was a Belgian; so was Peter Paul Lefevre, Coadjutor Bishop and Administrator of Detroit (1841-1869). Father Charles Nerinckx (1761-1824) had been one of the early apostles of the Church in Kentucky, founding the now widely-spread and devoted Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross; Charles De La Croix (1792-1869) laid the foundation of the Church in Missouri, preparing the way there for the first Jesuits who located in the State, nine in number, all Belgians. To the band belonged the famous Indian pacifier Pierre Jean De Smet (1801-1873). These and numerous others had raised Belgian missionaries to so high a pinnacle of fame that the memory of them prompted American Bishops to make frequent journeys to the little land to recruit more candidates for their dioceses. The journeys contributed to foster the desire for a nursery of priests in the land itself, the more so that there were men there devoted to the interests of God's Church who manifested a practical readiness to meet the desires of the American Prelates more than half way. And so it happened that when the illustrious Martin J. Spalding, then Bishop of Louisville, Kentucky, visited Belgium in 1852, the project of founding a seminary for American missions at Louvain had sufficiently matured to enter into the domain of probable early realization. The churchman who at that time occupied the archiepiscopal seat of Malines so enthused his American brother in the episcopacy over the feasability of the pious dream, that he wrote from Belgium to Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore: "The ecclesiastical spirit here is admirable, and the simple piety of the people contrasts strongly with the comparative coldness of Catholics in Protestant countries. A hundred young men, educated at Louvain for the American missions! Is not the thought enlivening? And yet, it is very far from impossible; and if the Cardinal's anticipations be well grounded, it may be done with little or no expense to the American Prelates."

However, concomitant with the desire for a College in Belgium there was the quite natural desire to have one in Rome, the center of Catholicity, and the majority of American churchmen no doubt shared the view of Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia, who wrote that "personally he would be in favor of an American College in Rome," although he added: "If I am to remain in Philadelphia....I will certainly take an active part in the projected American College at Louvain. The high reputation for learning and discipline in Belgium is too well known as to allow me to hesitate a moment."

De facto a Belgian priest, vicar-general of the Bishop of Detroit, was sent to Rome by the Bishops to see about opening a College there. But the times were most unpropitious; for the city being occupied by the French Army, it was not possible to procure appropriate quarters, as the Holy

¹ Letter to Bishop Lefevre, facsimile in *Ecclesiastical Review*, Philadelphia. Vol. XXXIII, p. 182.

Father was most reluctantly obliged to declare to the envoy of the Bishops.

Disappointed, Father Kindekens set his face towards his native land and was there consoled for his failure at Rome upon ascertaining that the project of a seminary for foreign missions had lost none of its charms with those whose conversations on the subject had so much enthused Bishop Spalding four years previously. There was no hesitating about taking advantage of these dispositions. In doing so, he secured the promise of a donation of fifty thousand francs from the Count de Mèrode and of the good will of the Catholic press, which agreed to promote a subscription in aid of the undertaking as soon as he could provide the assurance that the Bishops of the United States approved of it. He was no sooner back in America than he acquainted the episcopal body by letter with his failure in Rome and his success in Belgium, pleading at the same time for the Belgian project to be carried out in Louvain. The Bishops concurred in Father Kindekens' views; but only those of Detroit and Louisville showed any disposition to afford pecuniary assistance. They felt thereby entitled to assume the initiative of charging the negotiator just returned from Belgium and Rome with the task of founding the American missionary institution at Louvain.

Father Kindekens departed again for Europe in February 1857, in a light mood no doubt, because of the promises made him by the Count de Mèrode, the newspaper editors and the Belgian Bishops. Sore was his disappointment when he reached his destination and learned that the Count de Mèrode had in the meantime died without leaving instructions about the execution of the promise made. The too great caution of Mgr. de Ram, Rector of the Louvain University, may have had something to do with this omission. We are led to draw that inference from a letter, hitherto unpublished, which he wrote to his niece Mme. Mast.

"J'ai eu lundi la visite de Monseigneur de Mèrode....² Je dois le revoir vendredi à Bruxelles ou j'ai à traiter avec son père l'affaire de l'établissement d'un Collège Américain à Louvain. Le Comte Félix est disposé à acheter la maison, mais je devrai lui conseiller de ne pas se lier trop, car les Evêques de l'Amérique du Nord, au moins le grand nombre, sont fort entreprenants, mais ils ne calculent pas toujours bien. Commencer c'est facile; mais consolider et perfectionner, c'est autre chose."

"I had the visit last Monday of Monsignor de Mèrode.... I must see him again about the establishment of an American College at Louvain. Count Felix de Mèrode is inclined to buy the house; but I shall have to advise him not to bind himself overmuch, for the Bishops of North America, at least most of them are very enterprising, but they do not always calculate well. To begin is an easy matter enough; but to consolidate and to perfect, that's quite a different proposition."³

The loss of the fifty thousand francs was a serious obstacle to the suc-

² Monsignor de Mèrode was an ex-army officer who became Pope Pius IX's Minister of War.

³ Mgr. de Ram to his niece Mme. Mast, Nov. 19, 1856.

cess of Father Kindekens's mission; but, as he had the plow in the furrow, the stubbornness of the glebe was not going to make him lose his grip of the handle. He would have his college without help from the Count de Méröde's purse. Only, now that the golden rim of his dreams had vanished into air, he looked about the less pretentious quarters of Louvain for a house on a par with his depreciated stock. His lone wanderings brought him to a corner butcher-shop with the fatidic sign, "Te Huren" (To Let). He hastened to find out the owner and, instead of renting, bought the place, "*Au compte de la Providence*," as he wrote to the Directors of the Propagation of the Faith in an appeal for funds. The purchase price was thirteen thousand francs. The building turned out to be part of an old college founded by the Benedictines of the Abbey of Aulne in the year 1629, and like so many other religious institutions disbanded at the French Revolution.

In the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1857, The American College of the Immaculate Conception was declared opened for the reception of candidates; but the first to present himself did not enter until June 4th following. He was J. B. Van de Mergel, a priest of the Diocese of Ghent, who a year later, April 1858, with three of his companions, departed for the States. He cast his lot with the Diocese of Louisville, where he earned for himself the title of Apostle of Grayson Co. Because of the Mission's extreme poverty, no priest had ever been able to hold out there before him; he held out, because as his bishop put it: "He lived on nothing and cooked it himself."

The cosmopolitan character which the College was ever afterwards to retain, was well defined within the first months of existence. At the second opening of the scholastic year, Oct. 1858, five countries were represented among the twelve students upon the roll-call: America, Belgium, Germany, Ireland and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. The first American student was David Russell, a Kentuckian; the first German, William Schupmann; the first Luxemburger, August B. Durst; the first Irishman, William Wiseman. The latter was also the first to take a degree at the University, the first to be ordained to the priesthood from the College, namely for the Diocese of Louisville. He became the founder and editor of *The Pastor*, the first review for priests published in the English language in the United States.

The diversity of nationality in the same house presented some dangers which the Rector applied himself to forestall by emphasizing, in his talks to the students, the duty for each and every one to put aside all inclination to exclusiveness. The students understood and one of them translated their Rector's sound advice into the pithy sentence **MISSIONARI**
PATRIA, CHRISTI DEI ECCLESA. Another student, handy with the brush, took care to keep the motto in everybody's mind by lettering it in colors upon the walls of the room that served as refectory and recreation hall. The spirit expressed by the phrase, jealously preserved by succeeding generations, fostered peace, concord and happiness, and contributed much to maintain throughout the years the bonds that unite the alumni of

the Louvain College with one another and with their Alma Mater. It prompted the Editor of *The Ecclesiastical Review* to write but lately: "The American College in Louvain has always been able to keep the affection of its alumni in a marked degree."¹

The inspirer of the spirit and its instiller into the student's hearts, Father Kindekens, would have deserved well of the institution if he had done nothing else. He did much more, yet in his own mind, he felt disappointed, because all his expectations were not realizing. He, therefore, owned himself relieved of a heavy burden, when in the beginning of his third year of rectorship, he was given a successor at the head of an institution about whose future he was full of misgivings, in the person of Father John De Nève, pastor of Niles, Michigan, and like himself by birth a Belgian.

The new Rector arrived in December 1859. He was young, energetic, possessed of shrewd business acumen and unhampered by any feeling of past disappointments. He had been but three years out of his native land, where his friends were staunch and numerous by reason, especially, of nine years of previous ministry in the Ghent diocese. He aroused the confidence of all with whom he came into contact—of the Bishops, who were showing themselves somewhat loath in allowing young candidates for the priesthood to go to the American missions, of the generous-minded people, whose purse-strings Father Kindekens had not succeeded in loosening, of the citizens of Louvain, who believed him freighted with heavy pouches of California gold. Thus it came to pass, that with moneys brought, not from America, but collected in Belgium, he was enabled to purchase houses adjoining the original quarters, and to remodel the latter. His was the conviction that the College must rely upon European resources; that the Bishops in the States had more than they could do to organize their respective dioceses; that Belgium could well afford to detract some of its men and means for the struggling missions abroad. It was quite natural, therefore, that he should bend his attention to elicit sympathies, first of all in Belgium, and the good will, moreover, of existing missionary societies in Germany, France and Austria. His power of persuasion was irresistible. Gifts poured in from all sides—from a generous and wealthy Bruges priest, Canon C. J. Maes; from the *Leopoldinen Stiftung* of Vienna, and the Bavarian *Ludwig Verein*, and from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith of Paris. He drew to his side Canon J. Van de Kerckhove and Father Florimond De Bruycker. The former became an unsalaried professor of Holy Scriptures and enriched the institution with many precious gifts during the fifty subsequent years of his life; and the latter, whose benefactions stretched over a period of forty years, became his vice-rector. He attached to the house several other Belgians blessed with a wealth of this world's goods and with a still greater wealth of generosity. Mgr. De Nève was their instigator and the feelings with which he actuated them, not only raised the edifice but supported it for

¹ *Ecclesiastical Review*, Sept. 1920, p. 321

years. Thanks mainly to the support of these his Belgian friends, he gave the College its standing, enlarged its holdings, and sent every year increasing numbers of priests to the missions, at a minimum of cost to the Bishops. These priests turned out to be such a credit to him, that several Bishops directed the best of their candidates to be trained to the priesthood by the grand guide, as the former pastor of Niles, Michigan, proved to be. So Louvain became the mother of the sacerdotal life of the future founder of Peoria diocese, of John L. Spalding, the author of the College Song "The Church of God, the Christian's Home," which the students sing at all their festive gatherings; of Patrick W. Riordan, who died Archbishop of San Francisco; of his brother Daniel, Monsignor Riordan, of St. Elisabeth Church, Chicago; and of many others, who played a conspicuous part in perfecting the Church edifice in the United States.

In May 1861, the Rector was pleased to learn that the Fathers of the III Council of Cincinnati had embodied in the pastoral letter which they issued upon the occasion words of commendation for the Louvain Americanum.

"We also take much pleasure in thanking our Venerable Brothers the Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishops of Catholic Belgium, for the truly Christian and noble zeal which has prompted them to lend their aid to the establishment of the American College of the Immaculate Conception of Louvain, the seat of the ancient and illustrious Catholic University which has shed so much lustre on the Catholic Church."

In January 1862, there came to the College, again from the Michigan mission, the Rev. Dumont, who after acting as vice-rector and professor of dogma for eleven years, was chosen to take a seat among the Belgian Episcopate as Bishop of Tournai. He was a man of wealth, and of a largeness of heart which helped the Rector out of many a pinch and was a blessing for the alumni at work on the poorer missions of the West.

There were no missionary annals in Belgium in those days. It led the Rector, who could not meet all the demands of laborers that came to him from all sections of the States, to have frequent recourse to the secular press in Belgium itself and also in Germany and Holland. It published his letters, extracts from the letters of the Bishops and letters from the alumni on the mission which he communicated to it to make known his house and to draw vocations towards it.

Among the letters made public, there were some from an uncle of Cardinal Mercier who had gone to the Far West and who, in after years, became known as "The Saint of Oregon," setting during a ministry of forty years among the Indians a most exalted example of zeal, disinterestedness and piety.⁸

During the early sixties the existence of the College was also frequently heralded throughout Belgium by notices in the press of the visits of American Bishops in quest of subjects for their dioceses and, in the case of Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, and of Bishop Fitzpatrick, of

⁸ *American College Bulletin of Louvain. Vols. III, IV, V.*

Boston, to secure the Rector's good offices for the foundation of a seminary in the States manned with professors from Belgium. As a result of the negotiations, mostly carried on by Mgr. De Nève, the Seminary of Troy came into being. It was for a long time the purveyor of priests for all the New England States, for Delaware, New Jersey and New York. May it not be called, by reason of the share that the large-hearted Monsignor de Nève had in its erection, a daughter of the Louvain Americanum?

The College had been tested and been found true to the test; but it still wanted the supreme approval and blessing of the Vice-Gerent of Christ upon earth. Father De Nève felt that he had credentials in plenty in the report of its work to entitle him to pray for that approval. To make sure of it, he journeyed to Rome in 1868 and, having been admitted to the august presence of the Holy Father for a private audience, he was pleased to hear from his lips: "We both founded an American College, but you succeeded better than I did." He referred to the American College at Rome, on which our Louvain College had an advance of two years and a half. Like all God's works it had had its trials, mostly at the start: they were the forerunners of the transcending blessings and success it later enjoyed to the full.

The great trials of the Louvain institution did not come until it had seen a dozen years of steady progress under the masterful leadership of Father De Nève, who had become Monsignor de Nève at the request of the American Bishops assembled in Rome for the Ecumenical Council. When his charge was giving the full measure of its usefulness, he, who was the head and the soul of it, by one of these blows with which Divine Providence often tries our faith, became mentally unbalanced and incapable to continue a work that was what it was through him. He was temporarily replaced by Father Dumont, who, two years later, in 1873, became Bishop of Tournai. Then Father Pulsers assumed the rectoral burdens. He had been in the house since 1865 and, previously to that time had been professor of philosophy at the diocesan seminary of Bois-le-Duc and a missionary in Michigan. He was no less a disinterested priest than his colleagues Dumont and Van Kerckhove; for like they, not only did he give his time and his talents to the cause without remuneration, but helped to sustain it out of his own inherited fortune. He remained at the helm until the year 1881, keeping up Father De Nève's traditions in sending good and faithful priests to America, as is evidenced from the fact that four pupils of those years were raised to the episcopal dignity—The Rt. Reverend J. J. O'Connor, Bishop of Newark and the Rt. Revs. J. J. Fox, J. N. Lemmens and Wm. Stang, deceased bishops, respectively of the dioceses of Green Bay, Vancouver Island and Fall River.

At the close of ten years of sickness and convalescence, Mgr. De Nève, feeling his old self again, traveled to Rome and to the States and after consultation with the Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, and with several of the Bishops patrons of the College—there were fifteen at the same time who had acquired this title by the bestowal of a sum of one thousand dollars—he resumed the rectorship. Father Pulsers, modestly

resigning his charge, was content to keep his class of Canon Law, which he had taught since his first arrival into the house.

Shortly after his return, Monsignor De Nève had the happiness to preside at the institution's silver jubilee of existence. The feast took place March 19, 1882. It was the occasion of warm marks of sympathy for the Rector and Professors from the alumni, who were practically scattered throughout all the dioceses of the United States and even then counted among their numbers one archbishop and five bishops, namely: Archbishop Charles J. Seghers, of Oregon City, and Bishops John L. Spalling, of Peoria, John B. Brondel, of Vancouver Island, Aegidius Juenger, of Nesqually (now Seattle) and Francis Janssens of Natchez.

Two years later the Council of Baltimore particularly commended the College to the attention of the Bishops of the United States and selected three graduates of Louvain, whom they entrusted with its supervision and charged particularly to represent the Prelates, patrons of the institution. They were the Rt. Revs. F. Janssens, J. L. Spalding and C. J. Maes. Upon the death, in 1897, of the Board's first president, who had in the mean time become Archbishop of New Orleans, the Most Rev. P. Riordan, of San Francisco, became the third member and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Maes of Covington, was chosen as its chairman. At the conclusion of the War not one of these was alive, and a new board was constituted with Bishop O'Connor of Newark as President and Bishops T. Meerschaert and E. Dunne as his co-members. The Board receives yearly from the Rector a report on the financial standing of the house, on the number of students and their work. To it belongs the presentation of candidates for the Rectorship, and it has a veto-power in the selection by the Rector, of the Vice-Rector and of the professors. Its authoritative approval is required for the making of loans and for extraordinary expenditures. In a word, the College is governed by the three Bishops through the Rector chosen by them.

One of the results of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee was to bring home to the alumni that the time had come for them to take a practical interest in the maintenance and the future development of their alma mater; that they must relieve the Rector of part of the burden of finding means to meet the ever-increasing needs, and allow Belgian benefactors to turn their benefactions into other channels. Archbishop Riordan, then still pastor of St. James' Church, Chicago, was the man who called his fellow-alumni's attention to that duty. The result was a modest purse of 10,000 francs presented to the Rector as an earnest of the former pupil's good will. It was the gift of missionaries almost all poor and struggling, but a gift of which the worth was increased by the warmth of love and gratitude with which it was bestowed. From that time on Lovanists were prompt in assuming their share of the liabilities for all the improvements made at their college-home; in fact their participation in its further material extension increased gradually so much, that to-day it may be called *their* seminary also in the sense that it is they who practically finance it.

The first gift from the alumni to cross the ocean for Louvain served to inaugurate the building era of the College. Up to 1888 it had been but a

jumble of old houses more or less adroitly fitted up into a seminary. In that year some ramshackle buildings on the south-side were torn down and in their place there arose a three-story structure of modern Flemish architecture. It was the crowning work of Mgr. De Nève's rectorship. Shortly after it was finished, he was taken sick again and resigned his charge, which fell upon the shoulders of his devoted co-worker, Father J. Willemsen, who had been professor at the institution since the year 1872. His selection for the first place was a fitting reward and a natural consequence of his dutiful and exemplary filling of the second, as his elevation to a prelacy shortly after was the seal of approval placed upon the noble efforts he displayed to keep the College sailing upon the high tide of success. He it was who undertook in 1892 the construction of the Chapel, a Gothic edifice, polychromed, with stained-glass windows and five altars, of which the sculptured main-altar massive and artistic, is a gift of a sister of the former Rector, and Bishop of Tournai, Mgr. E. Dumont.

Another monument of the devoted Mgr. Willemsen's rectorate were the Rules, which, but for some changes made in 1907, still govern the institution. He framed them upon the express desire of the Propaganda, by which they were approved July 3d, 1895. From Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation they received the high encomium: "They are admirable."

In 1895 a structure containing kitchen, students' dining-room and vice-rectoral quarters was erected; and ten years later Dr. J. de Becker, who entered the College in 1885 as professor of Canon Law and Liturgy and succeeded Mgr. Willemsen in 1898 as Rector, undertook a task that was to transform that College,—the Professors' quarters excepted—in its entirety, doing away with the last vestige of the original house bought by Father Kindekens in 1857. He put up a T-shaped four-and-half-story edifice that raises the apex of its stepped gable-roofs eighty-two feet above street level, commanding all but the church steeples of old Louvain.

The last improvements of note were begun in 1913 by Mgr. de Becker: they transformed the professors and guests quarters, enlarged and beautified the kitchen and the students' refectory, removed and changed the main entrance, and put the whole plant into the shape which it is likely to retain until such times as it will cease to be of use for its present purpose, and the American Bishops decided that it may be dispensed with. Meanwhile all friends who stop before its arched Louis XVI doorway will continue to make theirs the pious wish and prayer chiseled in granite over the extrados of the arch, on both sides of a white-stone statue of the Virgin—*Collegio Americano suo Benedicat Virgo*. The pithy inscription counts up 1914, the sixtieth anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the year of the invasion of Belgium by the German Army and of the destruction of a large portion of the city and of the costliest part of the University.

That invasion put a temporary end to the usefulness of the College as such. During the long-protracted War it had its uses for all that. The first year, six students who were left stranded in the occupied territory

wended their way back to it and, thanks to the Professors' devotion, they were permitted to pursue their studies. Four were ordained at the end of the year 1915. Then, the house was closed to studious youth, but it opened its door for the work of charity of which its Rector, Mgr. De Becker, was the heart and soul since the beginning of the winter 1914-1915. He it was whom the inuagurators of Relief in Louvain put at their head, and as the city is the seat of the *Arrondissement*, the headquarters for the whole political division were necessarily in it, housed in the College, which Monsignor de Becker graciously put at the Committee's disposal. It thus became not only a store-room in which were accumulated blankets, wooden shoes, underwear, cloth and clothing; but also the center of all the offices opened in connection with the work of relief, and the meeting place of the A. C. R. B. men and of their colleagues of the National Committee—the Count Jean de Mèrode, Maréchal de la Cour, Senator de Becker, Count le Limburg Stirum, the Chevalier de Wouters d'Oplinters, etc.

During the last year of the conflict, the auditorium and adjoining space was transformed into a depot for flour, and every week 9000 people received there their weekly allowance of flour and yeast.

Moreover the Chapel, to which the antique statue of Mary Seat of Wisdom had been transferred for safe-keeping from St. Peters church, was all through the War the scene of the ecclesiastical festivities of the University and of the Requiem Masses for departed professors and students victims of the cruel scourge. The last of these celebrations, held June 30th, 1918, was the consecration of the University in communion with the whole of Belgium to the Sacred Heart. Present at these religious functions were only the professors and employees of the University and their families. Students there were none; for in agreement with the three other universities of the land, the Louvain school kept its doors closed, because the place of youth was not in the lecture-room but at the front, to help deliver the land from the invader.

The year following the University was again in full swing and the partly restored collegiate church of St. Peter once more witnessed the solemn religious manifestations of University life.

The College did not reopen its doors until November, 1919, with sixteen students from the diocese of Hartford, two from Newark and six Belgians. The composition of the student-body of the re-opened house after an hiatus of five years, is perhaps a prognostic of what the College is to be in the future—no longer a school for young levites, mostly from European countries, but for American youths desirous to profit by the special advantages afforded by education abroad. It broadens the views, helps to maintain the spirit of true Catholicity and makes the study of foreign languages, customs and institutions, whose knowledge is so useful in the ministry, almost imperative. Moreover, now that vocations are becoming more numerous from year to year in the United States and the need of foreign-born priests is no longer felt, the Louvain College may be useful yet as a seminary for native Americans, who more than ever will have to

apply themselves to take care of the foreigners who flock still to the western land of promise.

Grand is the work done in the past by the Louvain College through its alumni. It sent out 773 priests. Nineteen of these were raised to the episcopal dignity. They are: Archbishops Francis A. Janssens, of New Orleans; Bertram Orth, of Victoria, V. Isl.; Patrick W. Riordon, of San Francisco; John L. Spalding, of Peoria; Chas. Seghers, of Oregon City; Bishops John B. Brondel of Helena; Ed. Dunne of Peoria; John J. Fox, of Green Bay; Ferdinand Brossart, of Covington, Alphonse J. Glorieux, of Boise; Aegidius Jünger, of Nesqually, John J. Lawler, of Lead; John Lemmens, of Victoria, V. Isl.; Camillus P. Maes, of Covington; John G. Murray, Auxiliary of Hartford, Theophile Meerschaert, of Oklahoma, John J. O'Connor, of Newark; William Stang, of Fall River; Augustine Van de Vyver, of Richmond.

Besides, one of our alumni, Dr. Peter Guilday, is a professor at the University of Washington. Eighteen were raised to a prelature.

And how cosmopolitan the College has been!

Of its 773 alumni, 233 hailed from Germany, 164 from the United States, 141 from Belgium, 84 from Holland, 51 from Ireland, 34 from Poland, 27 from Austria, 14 from Luxemburg, 13 from France, 6 from Canada, 2 from Italy, 2 from Denmark, 1 from Switzerland and one from Trinidad. As the ensemble was, so were its pupils individually—cosmopolitan; for whilst in the house, they made it a point, as a rule, to add the knowledge of at least two languages to their mother-tongue, and they worked themselves into the spirit of the people whose language they learned, and thus increased their power to serve souls. May the souls they served and helped to save, obtain for the College, the mother of their sacerdotal life the plentitude of Heavenly blessings, and the grace to fulfil its mission faithfully and well till the task set for it by Divine Providence be fully accomplished!

REV. J. VAN DER HEYDEN,
Louvain.

CHRONICLE

ANNIVERSARY REQUIEM FOR CARDINAL GIBBONS.

The anniversary of the death of Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the Catholic University of America, was fittingly commemorated by the Faculty and student body of the University on Friday, March 24. A solemn Requiem was sung by the Right Rev. Rector, and the sermon delivered by the Very Rev. Dr. Healy, Dean of the Department of Ecclesiastical History, was a splendid tribute to the memory of the venerable prelate in whose affections the University held such a large place.

"You shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and even to the uttermost part of the earth." (Acts. 1:8).

These words of our Divine Lord, addressed to His disciples at the very moment of His Ascension, just as He was taken up into Heaven in their sight, express the essential purpose of the mission to which He had called them; they contain the prime characteristics to be found in the Apostles and in their successors, the bishops of the Catholic Church. They are to be witnesses unto Christ, witnesses in life and in word and in deed. They are to show virtue in their lives, wisdom in their words, and in their deeds zeal for the Kingdom of God and for the salvation of souls. The triumph of the Church in all lands and in all times is proof that the Apostles have been true to this mission. Error has been dissipated, life has been purified, the sacred interests of the family have been safeguarded, society has been stabilized and the earth has been renewed and refreshed in the Christian civilization of which the Church is the founder and the guardian. Forever through history runs the golden thread of the episcopate ruled and directed by the successor of Christ in the See of Peter. Forever do we find the names of men like Cyprian and Ambrose and Augustine and Peter Damian and Charles Borromeo and Francis de Sales and Ketteler and Carroll and Hughes and Gibbons bearing witness to Christ and carrying the truths of the Gospel to the uttermost part of the earth.

Like the Apostles and like most of their successors in the Episcopate of the Church, the man in whose memory we are assembled today, James Cardinal Gibbons, came from a lowly station in life. He was the child of immigrant parents, he had none of the worldly advantages that go with high station or great wealth, but all that he was and all that he had, he gave fully and unreservedly to the service of God. He was successively curate, parish priest, Vicar-Apostolic in North Carolina, Bishop of Richmond, and for forty four of his sixty years in the priesthood he presided as Archbishop over the destinies of the great Archdiocese of Baltimore.

His long life and his active career as priest, bishop and archbishop coincided with the rise of the Catholic Church in the United States from

a condition of persecution and proscription to one of power and national influence. He saw the country of his birth expand from a condition of comparative insignificance to a place as the leading state of the world. The times through which he lived were critical times for religion and society. They were times which demanded strong men and prudent men, men gifted with the power of control and leadership. If the Church overcame the opposition and the dangers with which it was confronted, it was because strong men were found in the Episcopate, men strong enough and prudent enough to meet the emergency. And if the state survived the conflicts which were forced on it, if it did not succumb to social revolution or civil war or to the attacks of external foes, its triumph was due to the wisdom, the fortitude and the patriotism of the men who guided its destinies in those times of trial. The best testimony to the worth of Cardinal Gibbons as a priest, as a bishop and as a citizen is that during all those years of stress and trial he was the trusted leader, the wise counsellor, the prudent guide of the leaders both in Church and State.

Cardinal Gibbons touched life at many points. He worked intensely at all the tasks which fell to his lot. His life extended over a great span of years. Great and sweeping changes occurred in these years, yet he was never out of touch with what was new, and always optimistic for the future of the State and the Church. He had a sure and abiding confidence in the character of American political institutions; he had a profound regard for the wisdom of the men who framed the Constitution of the United States, and he trusted to it to lead men to the full and sure enjoyment of the largest measure of civil and political liberty. He believed that in the teaching of the Catholic Church alone could they find the principles which would guide them to the wise exercise and the full enjoyment of that liberty. He was not embittered by the fact that the early years of his life coincided with that sad period in our history when misguided and fanatical agitators tried to arouse the entire nation to a belief that Catholicism was inimical to liberty and when those disturbers of the public peace so worked on the fears of the ignorant and the timorous that mobs stormed the churches and wrecked the convents. He had occasion to know the maleficent designs that lay behind the Know-Nothing movement, and the evil purposes which inspired its leaders, but he did not lose faith. He saw this un-American movement swallowed up in the great civil war which threatened the integrity and the existence of the Union, and as a young priest in the city of Baltimore he was a daily witness of the havoc and destruction which follow in the wake of battle and bloodshed. When the dark clouds of war had passed he lived through the evil days of Reconstruction in the South. But he lived to see the Union saved, he mourned beside the bier of the man who saved it, and he saw the Church grow and expand to the position which it now holds, a position which makes it immune to the attacks of the factionist, the reactionary and the agitator.

To speak of the life of Cardinal Gibbons since the Civil War is to speak of every great event in the progress and the triumph of the

Catholic Church in the United States. He took an active part in one great Plenary Council of the Church and he presided over the deliberations of another. He had the extraordinary privilege of being called to the solemn assembly of the Bishops of the Ecumenical Church at the Council of the Vatican. He was the youngest prelate and the last survivor of that historic gathering. He was the trusted friend of four of the successors of St. Peter, and all four took occasion to testify to his unswerving loyalty, his boundless devotion to the Holy See. When the principles of a new social order derived from the teachings of Marx and Engels were spreading throughout the world, and when it was charged that the legitimate aspirations of labor to combine for protection in order to escape social and economic servitude, were dominated by the subversive principles of Socialism, Cardinal Gibbons showed himself the uncompromising champion of right and justice. His defence of the Knights of Labor will long be referred to as a cogent exposition of the attitude of the Church on social matters, and an unanswerable vindication of the Church as the friend of the poor and the oppressed. Time after time he raised his voice as the defender of the sanctity of the home and the inviolability of the marriage bond. He was unsparing in his condemnation of divorce, and of those who palliated its evils, and with constant insistence he pointed to it as a deadly menace to society and the permanence of the State. He had no sympathy for the rigorous Puritanism and Sabbatarianism which would shut out the workers from legitimate and simple amusements on their only day of rest. He had no patience with the plans and pretensions of those social reformers who sought to place women in a position of political equality with men. He taught them that the place of the woman is the home, and with old-fashioned chivalry he tried to shield women from the rough contacts which active participation in political struggles necessarily implies. He was a staunch defender of individual liberty and was thoroughly convinced that there are other roads to moral reforms than through civil statute and political enactment.

To Cardinal Gibbons man's life on earth was always a novitiate for eternity. Hence his profound interest in Catholic education. To him no education was complete which did not rest on the fundamental principles of Catholic psychology, and which did not impart the life-giving principles of the Catholic religion. In union with his colleagues in the Hierarchy he strove to provide schools, colleges and institutions of higher learning which would so mould and form Catholic youth, that they might face with confidence the trials and dangers of a society and a civilization which are Catholic neither in tone nor spirit. In the face of mighty obstacles and though confronted with other pressing needs, the bishops of the Church set before themselves the huge task of securing for Catholic children that equipment of saecular and religious education which would enable them to fill a useful and a successful place in the world, which would keep them in the fold of the Church and worthy of the graces which the Church dispenses through the medium of her sacraments. This Catholic University is the centre and the capstone of the system of schools which Catholic

faith and piety under episcopal supervision have brought into being, this University, with its charter from the Supreme Pontiff himself, represents the earnest effort of American faith to establish an institution from which the enduring spirit of Catholic belief and practice will flow through and strengthen all the others. Of the many great works with which the name of Cardinal Gibbons is linked there is none which held a larger place in his affections than this, none with which he was more intimately connected, none to which he looked for such large and enduring results as from this.

The activities of Cardinal Gibbons were many and varied. He was a missionary, a teacher, a preacher, a lecturer and an author. But in all that he did he revealed himself in the same character. He was a witness unto Christ. His only concern was to carry home to the minds of his hearers or his readers the truths of Catholicism. He never strove for the petty pleasure of victory over an adversary, nor for the triumph of putting an enemy to shame. Few writers have had a wider circle of readers than he. Every word of his was noted in the daily prints; his works are in thousands of homes and in the hands of hundreds of thousands of readers. His style, easy, unadorned and simple was the reflection of his life. He was affable, unaffected and approachable, but always formal and always dignified. No one could ever mistake him for anything but what he was, a priest who by the unanimous voice of the Hierarchy at the Second Council of Baltimore was worthy to be raised to the episcopate, a prelate who in the judgment of the Vicar of Christ was worthy of a place in the Sacred College of Cardinals.

His name will long be held in veneration in the United States. His memory will be linked with that period of marvellous expansion in the history of the Church which saw dioceses doubled and parishes multiplied beyond number, and which saw the faith and the devotion of the Catholic people deepen and intensify until they stand forth as models for the emulation of the entire world. If he did not have the towering theological genius of a St. Augustine or a St. Thomas or a Suarez, he was nevertheless a prudent and persuasive interpreter of Catholic faith and doctrine at a time when social forms were undergoing a silent but profound revolution and when political power was passing from the keeping of the old rulers into the inexperienced hands of the populace. If he did not shake the world of autocracy as Ambrose did, nor uproot the forces of corruption with the burning and consuming zeal of a Hildebrand, he could, nevertheless, when occasion demanded be an unflinching champion of the rights of the poor and the lowly. What he strove for and what he preached he lived, and far beyond the record of his words and his deeds, is the unrecorded influence which he exercised on all who came into his presence.

If the Catholic people of our country take pride in the fact that their civil rights are not abridged, that they are comparatively free from proscription and discrimination because of their religion, they should not forget how largely instrumental Cardinal Gibbons was in making Catholicism

better known and how largely he contributed to breaking down anti-Catholic animosity and bigotry. If Catholic priests are everywhere treated with respect and deference and even veneration, they should remember that much of the respect in which their sacred calling is held by non-Catholics as well as Catholics is due to the esteem which was aroused by the priestly lives of men like Cardinal Gibbons. People as well as priests, but we especially of this University which he loved so much, should never fail to remember him in our prayers to God, to supplicate for him the Divine Mercy, to send up our petitions that his life of faith on earth may be crowned with an eternity of happiness in Heaven.

THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Great was the rejoicing at the University, on April 11, when it was officially announced that the beloved Rector who for twelve years had guided the destinies of the institution, had been re-appointed for a third term of office by the Holy See. He now begins his thirty-second year as professor and thirteenth as Rector of the Catholic University, which, under his splendid management has greatly expanded its physical proportions and its influence in the world of education.

Some of the largest and most substantial additions to the University buildings have been made since Bishop Shahan's first appointment as Rector in 1909. These include Gibbons' Hall, Graduate Hall, the Martin Maloney Laboratory, and the gymnasium which cost \$300,000. All of them are fine specimens of architecture and notable for their enlargement of the material and cultural resources of the university. The development of the central heating plant of the University also was accomplished under Bishop Shahan's regime.

The National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, designed to be a great temple to the Blessed Mother of God, patroness of the United States, is also to be credited to Bishop Shahan's initiative. This Shrine, when completed, will be one of the six largest Catholic churches of the world and a magnificent contribution to the architectural beauties of the National Capital.

In bringing the Blessed Mother's Shrine to the notice of the Catholics of this country, Bishop Shahan has caused to be published the *Salve Regina*, of which some eight million copies have thus far been issued.

There are now fifteen religious orders affiliated with the University and represented by fine buildings surrounding the main group. These properties and those of the university, with endowments, constitute an investment of upwards of \$11,000,000 for Catholic higher education at the National Capital. The University has been a powerful influence in spreading Catholic education throughout America and in furthering organized charities.

His Lordship the Rector was born in Manchester, N. H., September 11, 1857. His early education was obtained in the public schools of Milbury,

Mass. Subsequently he attended Montreal College, the American College at Rome, the Roman Seminary, the University of Berlin and the New Sorbonne, Paris. He received the degree, S. T. D., from Propaganda University, Rome, in 1882, and the degree J. U. L. from the Roman Seminary in 1889.

From 1882 until 1888, Father Shahan was engaged in parochial work in the Hartford diocese. He was appointed to the faculty of the Catholic University in 1891 as professor of church history and patrology. He served as lecturer on Roman law from 1896 until 1904. He has been associate editor of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* since 1904.

In 1909, the same year in which he was appointed Rector of the University, Bishop Shahan was made a domestic prelate. He became titular Bishop of Germanicopolis in 1914, and was reappointed Rector in 1915.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Life of Patrick Augustine Feehan, Bishop of Nashville and first Archbishop of Chicago. By Reverend Cornelius J. Kirkfleet, Ord. Praem. with an introduction by the Rt. Rev. Peter James Muldoon, D.D. Matre and Company, Chicago. 1922. Pp. xix+381.

His *Life of St. Norbert* completed, Father Kirkfleet sought a new task. Interest in the Catholic history of Illinois was aroused by the establishment of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Society* (1918) and the somewhat scanty attention given to the subject by the *State Centennial History*. Hence encouraged by Bishop Muldoon, Dr. Kirkfleet undertook this biographical study of Chicago's first archbishop, with the avowed intention of making Catholic annals more available for future church and secular historians. For as the bishop intimates, until such records are easily obtainable and Catholic history, general and local, has been written by scholars within the Church, secular historians cannot be criticized for their failure to appreciate the work of the Church. Toward this end the *Life of Archbishop Feehan* will aid materially as far as Chicago and the Middle West are concerned.

Bishop Muldoon, unlike most men who write introductions, is unduly modest in his appraisement of the volume: "That it is a complete work the author does not pretend, as yet we are too close to the majestic figure. Future historians will, no doubt, give an ampler and more perfect account of the life and deeds of the first Archbishop of Chicago." The author was confronted with unusual difficulties, for correspondence had not been preserved and newspaper notices were few, as the archbishop had a dread of publicity. Yet, despite the paucity of material, Dr. Kirkfleet has narrated the story of Feehan's life and his herculean labors in Nashville and Chicago.

The book is not without serious faults. At times, one feels that too much minutia and irrelevant material of anecdotal character have been included. Too elaborate are the journalistic descriptions of episcopal receptions and consecration ceremonies with lists of names of participants and attendants. Such lists

may be of value as records, but if so should be relegated to the appendix or footnotes. The style is slightly *grandiloquent*, and the tone rather too eulogistic; but all biographers are tinctured with hero-worship. Again, it would have been well to have given more attention to the history and growth of the Church itself as apart from the life of the archbishop. On the other hand, the inclusion of this somewhat secondary material contributes toward a personal, intimate portrayal of the archbishop which makes him a living character.

Patrick Joseph Feehan (1829-1902) was born in Ireland, in the year of Catholic Emancipation, of a family who attained a degree of scholarly culture in spite of the penal laws. His endowment was a love of books and an inherited strength of mind and body. An ecclesiastical student at Castle Knock, he was associated with Charles Russell, afterward Lord Russell of Killonan. Soon they parted forever, one for Maynooth, the other for Trinity. Both were destined for greatness, and in their service both advanced the Church. His family emigrating to America in 1850, Feehan to the regret of Archbishop Cullen of Dublin, left Maynooth to complete his course at Carondelet Seminary, St. Louis, at the call of Bishop P. R. Kenrick. There, he was ordained in 1852.

Father Feehan's pastoral work in St. Louis commenced in the cholera year of 1853, and in the plague-stricken levee-districts, his was truly a baptism of service. An instructor in the seminary, he had as a colleague Father Hennesy, later first archbishop of Dubuque. Pastor of St. Michael's Church during the Civil War, he aided in establishing a hospital under the Sisters of Charity. After the battle of Shiloh, the wounded were brought by the boatload. Father Feehan labored incessantly as a stretcher-bearer and as a priest, comforting the wounded and administering the last rites to the dying. No small number of conversions were inspired by his heroic service and the self-sacrifice of the nuns.

The Diocese of Nashville became vacant on the resignation of Bishop Whelan in 1865, and Feehan was appointed, for a strong man was required to reconstruct this war-torn diocese which had been a highway for both armies. The cathedral and residence had served as barracks; churches and schools were half-destroyed; debts overshadowed all; and the faithful were scattered.

As a climax the cholera came in 1866 and in 1878-1879 to increase the general misery. Loss of life was terrible. Some fifty nuns and twenty-two priests fell victims, for, following the example of their bishop, they knew no rest when the plague-stricken in hospital or negro and immigrant hovel cried out for aid. Obstacles only encouraged Bishop Feehan to greater exertions. Vocations increased, churches and schools were built, and episcopal visitations garnered the lost Catholics of the backwoods region. Converts were attracted by the quiet, dignified bearing of the gigantic Feehan, so unlike the itinerant, shouting revivalist whom frontiersmen knew too well. Nashville was made a diocese in the true sense. Then in 1880, to the sorrow of Catholics and to the regret of Protestant friends, came the summons to Chicago, which on the death of Bishop Foley was made an arch-diocese.

Arduous work was again in store for Archbishop Feehan, for the Church had not yet recovered from the losses of the great fire. Chicago was growing at a phenomenal rate and immigrants were coming in ever increasing numbers. The Church must keep pace, and under Feehan's guidance from 1880 to 1902, the Catholic Church more than kept step with Chicago's unprecedented progress. By 1884, it could be said that "Every nationality known to our composite people is to be found there, and of the 700,000 inhabitants now dwelling where but a few years ago the splash of the Indian canoe was heard on the reedy creek, nearly one half are Catholics." (p. 157). Archbishop Quigley was in a position to understand when he declared: "I marvel at what he did and the manner in which he did it. The better I know Chicago and its problems, the higher is my appreciation of my predecessor." (p. 161).

The decade of 1880-1890 was marked by the confirmation of over 100,000 persons, the ordination of one hundred and seventy-five priests, and the erection of sixty churches. Properties were purchased against the opposition of the timid, who unlike the bishop lacked vision. Chicago, he recognized as a coming metropolis. His suburban lands were merged in the city and his holdings mounted in value. His successful legal battle for riparian rights won acreage of untold value on the Lake front. For this the diocese and his successors can well be thankful.

Schools were erected and teaching orders aided, for not even Archbishop Hughes was more interested in Catholic education. The poor, though, were his special charge. Immigrants of all races, he met without racial bias. At Feehanville in 1884, he established an industrial training school for boys. A new venture in those days, it was his special delight; and in his declining years, it was there that he built his country cottage. At the World's Fair, the Chicago Catholic Educational Exhibit attracted favorable attention as broad-minded Protestant educators noted. In conjunction with the education of the young through schools, the archbishop realized the aid of a Catholic press to train the people at large, hence in 1890, under his direction the Catholic Press Company was founded to publish *The New World* having purchased Dr. McGovern's Catholic organ, *The Home*.

Catholic societies were especially dear to him. As bishop of Nashville, he had urged the founding of the Order of Catholic Knights (1877). Temperance societies were fostered. The Catholic Foresters and the Hibernians were given every encouragement. Both Archbishops Ryan and Ireland testify to the brilliancy of his defense of the Hibernians at the Baltimore Council. His love of Ireland and his intelligent interest in her problems and national aspirations are well evidenced by the lengthy excerpts from his addresses.

Archbishop Feehan was an American to the core. An immigrant himself from Ireland of the Establishment, he rejoiced in the freedom which the United States guaranteed to the individual communicant and to the Church. He understood true Americanization. In the words of Bishop Muldoon: "He was most sympathetic toward all races coming to our shores and his idea of Americanization was kindness and sympathy, coupled with aid during their first years in the United States. He said once that he feared the result if the newcomers would too rapidly discard their old-country habits, customs, or language. The change, he explained, would have to be gradual, and come from their own appreciation of the United States and the blessings conferred, rather than from a too forced action from without. His idea was persuasion rather than compulsion." (p. XVIII).

He feared professional Catholic leaders, and well he might. Nor did he believe in blatant protestations of Catholic loyalty to America. He was correct. Why should Catholics accept the

defensive when nativist, secret political parties make charges credited by no men or groups of consequence? Relative to such a patriotic speech, Archbishop Feehan remarked: "No doubt, it will be read widely and favorably commented upon, but I do not relish such speeches..... It seems to me, it smacks of apology and in a delicate way insinuates that we Catholics are perhaps different from other citizens. I refuse to accept such a position. I am of my own choice simply an American citizen with no explanation or apology..... Let them scrutinize our works and we will stand by the verdict." (p. 296).

Rather long, but of interest to the student of the Church in the West, are the accounts of the consecration of Dr. John McMullen, first bishop of Davenport (1881), and of Bishop Edward Joseph Dunn for Dallas, Texas (1893), of Father Alexander McGavick (1899), and of Chancellor Peter J. Muldoon as auxiliary bishop of Chicago (1901). Considerable space is given to the silver jubilee celebration of Archbishop Feehan's twenty-five years in the episcopate. The closing chapters recount the last days of the Archbishop, the obsequies, the testimonials and editorial comment.

Such is the story of Archbishop Feehan and his labors as told by Dr. Kirkfleet. With more biographies of American prelates and better diocesan histories, the annals of the Church in America can be written in full when the trained and inspired historian finally appears.

R. J. P.

The Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo, California. By Frances Rand Smith, Berkeley: The Catholic Historical Survey Comission, 1921, Pp. 81.

So much romantic twaddle has been written about the missions of California that it is refreshing to welcome a new work which is not only not of that class but a real addition to the category of books that count. Such is *The Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo*, by Mrs. Frances R. Smith, of Palo Alto, which has just made its appearance under the auspices of the California State Historical Survey Commission, with a commendatory introduction by Owen C. Coy, director and archivist of the commission.

The work naturally divides itself into two parts, the first historical, and the second architectural. While the historical section makes no pretense of supplanting the more elaborate works which tell the story of the missions, at the same time it gives the student a much more detailed summary of the development of San Carlos than might be inferred from the modest size of the book. Moreover, the canons of strict historical scholarship have been followed in its production, the author allowing the records to speak for themselves. These are briefly the archives of the missionary establishments, the official letters of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and the accounts written by voyagers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when describing these establishments. These are the real sources of historical information.

Trained students of California history know where to look for this material and the ordinary student has heard of it. The scholarly writers have used it in their general histories or in special monographs, but the work of Mrs. Smith is the first attempt to gather this data in one volume for ready reference by the general reader. She has been eminently successful. The highest commendation is due her, and the commission is to be congratulated because works of this calibre are in the eyes of the people of the State of California ample justification for the appointment of the Commission itself.

Under distinct heads the author presents the facts regarding the founding of the mission in 1770, its transfer from Monterey proper to the Carmel River so as to be in the midst of the Indian population, the original temporary establishment of wooden structures within a stockade, the improvement of the buildings, the erection of the stone church after the death of Fathers Serra and Crespi, the dire effects of the Mexican Revolution and the beginning of the decay of the mission. The Spaniard had built but the Mexican had destroyed and that destruction and decay is in no place better chronicled than in the account of the travelers who came to California after 1830 and in the reports after occupation by the United States Government. The descriptions of San Carlos given by later writers are quoted at length, and finally the faulty restoration of the ruined church in 1884 is mentioned, with the trite remark that "it is probable that even with

this in mind the substitution of shingles for the former tile the original line could have been more closely followed." As Engelhardt remarks, the American occupation of California came twenty-five years too late.

The mission of San Carlos was of beautiful lines although very simple. The beauty was entirely destroyed when the enthusiasm for restoration in 1884 led by Mrs. Stanford and other friends of the old mission establishments, substituted a high pitched barn roof of shingles for the low tiled roof which had, even in the ruined church, emphasized the tasteful symmetry of the facade and towers.

The second part of Mrs. Smith's book is devoted to the discussion of the architectural features of the church building as finished under the regime of Padre Lasuen, the successor of Junipero Serra as president of the Missions of Alta California. To these two men California owes its line of mission establishments. But there was this great difference between them. Serra was a pioneer. He planned and founded. In the face of insurmountable difficulties he used whatever materials were at his disposal and started things going. As this book brings out very clearly Serra built log huts and later oblong structures of wood and mud and rushes, divided into compartments, one of which he used as a chapel until he could see his way to build the first temporary church. He was not only his own engineer, but his own foreman, working with his own hands with rude home-made tools, and meanwhile instructing the Indian to the use of tools. Lasuen, on the contrary, was enabled to see the fulfillment of Serra's desire of bringing master mechanics from Mexico and thus securing the elaboration of design and the excellence of construction evidenced in particular in the missions of San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and San Carlos (Carmelo). He, too, saw the actual development of the missions into vast industrial schools which supplied California for two generations with its mechanics, and the sole cause of quarrel between the missions and the civil authorities during the Spanish rule was the manly stand which the padres made against the profiteer of that epoch, in demanding a living wage for the Mission Indian mechanics employed on contracts.

The special features distinctive of the Carmelo church in an

architectural way are treated by Mrs. Smith with a fullness never before given. Every detail of the building from the pavement to the towers is taken in turn so that we now have an architectural analysis of the structure never before presented to the public. Comment on these features is such that any reader may appreciate to the full the ideals of craftsmanship realized in San Carlos, but the author has not given us the mere description. She has supplied detailed drawings of all the most distinctive items of that long list. This is not a piece of library workmanship. Every drawing was made on the spot. Every measurement was taken, not from a blue print, but from the ruined structure itself. And the drawings have not been idealized but have been true to reality, so that the irregularities of the mason's construction are brought before the reader in the most graphic manner. Architects like Ralph Cram have insisted that this small irregularity of detail is characteristic of all mediaeval building, and Mrs. Smith has proved it in the case of San Carlos.

Every illustration in the book has a value, either as bringing out the development of the mission through the period from Syke's sketch of 1794 to the ruins of 1876, and the "restoration" of 1884, or as visualizing the individual characteristics of the completed edifice. Noteworthy among the latter the reviewer would call attention to the two-foot wide stone arches which supported the roof, the low stone arch which upheld the choir loft, and the curved incline of the pilasters ranging along the sides of the church interiorly.

Some might have desired that the first production of the Commission should have been devoted to the consideration of San Diego, the earliest of the missions in point of establishment, but on the other hand San Carlos was the headquarters of the missions of Alta California, the official residence of Junipero Serra, and its sanctuary the place of his burial. There is, therefore, a certain appropriateness in making it the subject of the initial monograph.

This work has set a standard for later volumes to follow. Every page gives evidence of painstaking research in the effort to secure absolute accuracy. The quotations from contemporary writers and voyagers are given in extenso, as they should be. The heroic work of the pioneer missionaries and their austere

life stands out in such a way that to add to these a commendation of our day would seem like painting the rose.

Where the Spanish documents are quoted the full text of the original is given and the name of the translator whose version is printed is also given. This is the proper way to do. A few faulty translations in the book are in this way easily corrected by the reader familiar with Spanish. Most of these are trivial, but on page 19 the translation omits the dimensions of the dam in front of the mission property, although the Spanish text gives it in detail, a serious omission in a work of the kind under review.

A few typographical errors occur, as might be expected in any book, for instance the word dalmatic is given as dalmatie. Likewise the church is said to have had some stations of the cross, whereas the author meant that the church had a set of stations. In this regard, too, the author might have mentioned that, though twelve stations of the cross were erected between Monterey and the mission for use on the Good Friday devotion, the other two stations were supplied by the large cross in the church of Monterey, the Capilla Real, and that in the mission church at Carmelo, the procession beginning in Monterey and finishing in the mission church.

These, however, are minor subjects of criticism in a work which in every way deserves a real welcome and an earnest study in our libraries and schools for the proper understanding of our great historic memorials.

One little detail of the narrative which deserves special notice is the fact that the little organ used in the mission church throughout its existence was a Christmas present made to the padres by the explorer Vancouver on his visit in 1793.

For many years Mrs. Smith has been known to her friends as a real worker in the field of mission structural history, and there is a personal gratification to the reviewer in the production of her book because he advised her to write it and persuaded the authorities of the Commission to have it appear as a State production. May we not hope that what she has begun in San Carlos will see its full fruition in later works of the same series.

JOSEPH M. GLEASON.

Toward the Understanding of Jesus, and Other Historical Studies. By Valdimir G. Simkhovitch, Ph.D. Pp. viii+165. New York: The Macmillan Co.

This volume contains three "studies," the first and chief of which gives the title to the book. In his preface the author says that the "problems of history of understanding" (p. v) and in treating the first theme he "deals with the historical problem presented by the teachings of Jesus" (*ibid.*) And that "problem is—*why* such unprecedented teachings at *that particular time?*" (*ibid.*) He quotes liberally from both profane and sacred authors, but in dealing with the latter he states that he has "not attempted to utilize critical literature." (*Ibid.*)

Starting with the statement which he believes unassailable that "Jesus was a historical personality," (p. 2) he sketches briefly yet accurately and fairly the political conditions in Palestine just before, during and just subsequent to His historical earthly existence there. The petition of the Jews "for Judea's annexation to the Roman province of Syria," (p. 12) which though it did exchange "their sham political independence for very real cultural autonomy," (p. 14) still stirred up revolts among those who felt most zealous for the Law, and who saw, in the very fact of their annexation that the Romans had come and taken away their place and nation. Contrary to what many have taught Dr. Simkhovitch finds it historically true that Christ "was against rebellion," (p. 41) and he instances that both Pilate and Herod "found no fault" (*ibid.*) in Him. And he argues his case well from Gospel citations. Starting with the "feeling that the temptations of Jesus are probably parables of alternatives, of political and religious choices," (p. 46) everything else quoted is fitted into the plan. This, he argues, is seen in the misunderstanding, even on the part of Christ's intimate friends and disciples of the character of the salvation He came to bring and their lack of understanding of the nature of the Kingdom He came to proclaim. That the populace, inflamed with nationalistic and zeotic aspirations, rejected Him is only natural. "Of course Jerusalem killeth her prophets. For what is a prophet? If he is a true prophet, is he not so because of his insight into life in general and into the inevitable consequences of our momentary actions? Then because of this very insight he can never qualify

as a popular leader, the hero of the passing moment. Popularity is hardly the rôle of a true prophet." (p. 82). Christ came to preach a kingdom which is "a matter of attitude and understanding" (*ibid.*) and these must grow—like the mustard seed to which it was compared by Him. "So," the author concludes, "after all, is human assimilation of all knowledge and all insight. It is a matter of slow growth." (p. 83).

The other two studies, "Rome's Fall Reconsidered," and "Hay and History," are in a way related, though the latter was published first. Each cites the factor of the decay of agriculture on the course of development of historical phenomena and of the decline of ancient states. In the first he quotes Pliny's "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam, jam vero et provincias.*" (p. 84) and also the more popular view, brought out by Livy and others that the decline was due to "*corruptio*: the corruption of morals, the corruption brought by wealth, the corruption brought by poverty, the all-pervading moral corruption of Rome," (p. 85) and points out that these two "reduce themselves. . . . to one single explanation." (p. 86). Poor methods of farming, bringing about a deterioration of soil, and a reduction of crop yields, led to the desertion of the farms. This in turn, meant congestion in the cities, and congestion in the cities invariably means the massing of wealth in the hands of a few, and dire poverty for the remainder of the population. So long as farmers can exist in comfort, moral decay is arrested, but once let the process of deserting the land gain ground (from whatever cause) and corruption comes in. "In Rome birth-control and a disinclination to marriage became widespread." (p. 126). And this, historically, as well as morally, spelled ruin. Dr. Simkhovitch recognizes this for while he says, "the exhaustion of the Roman soil. . . . sheds enough light for us to behold the dread outlines of its doom," (p. 139) he protests that he "should hate to be responsible for a new fetish, an interpretation of historical life through exhaustion of soil. It is silly." (p. 138).

"Hay and History" he says is a development of "the general thesis" (p. VI) of which "Rome's Fall Reconsidered" is a particular (and later) explanation. In this third study he outlines the European village system, illustrating from history and with maps, the manner of land-holdings, dwelling, and crop rotation, and shows how this system has grown up because of the neces-

sity of securing adequate pasturage for a number of families. The historical problem involved he finds was "first of all—what is the village community, and secondly, why is it?" (p. 162). "It is the solution of this mystery that is here submitted to the reader." (p. 165).

Each of these is a thoughtful, well-written contribution and worthy of the author's position as Professor of Economic History in Columbia University. It is evident, however, that Dr. Simkhovitch did not himself read the final proofs of this book for among the several Greek quotations there is not a single one without at least one typographical error.

FLOYD KEELER.

Sainte Jeanne D'Arc. By Le Père L. H. Petitot, O.P. Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne, 1921. Pp. iv+504. Price 12 frs.

Here is another very good biography of the "Pucelle d' Orleans" and one that is sure to please readers interested in the career of this little Saint. The devotion to Saint Joan of Arc is a devotion that is to-day steadily on the increase and the different biographies which have so far appeared have all tended to make her better known and loved by the great crowds of clients that now throng to her shrine. The present work is the result of five years' earnest study of the archaeological and historical sources bearing upon the life, vocation, campaigns, trial, condemnation and rehabilitation of Orleans' cherished Saint and the author has succeeded in turning out a biography that is at once interesting and replete with historical information. If during the reading, no attention be paid to the many foot-notes, the book reads like a novel. It is rather tiresome however to be interrupting one's lecture at every step to decipher some fifteenth century French quotation bearing on the question, although for the thorough historian such citations as these are as the author rightly remarks, "la monnaie d'or de l'histoire."

Father Petitot tells us in his preface that when he began this book, he was unconscious of the fact that Monsignor Touchet, bishop of Orleans, was also preparing an extensive work on the same subject, and that therefore he was unable to consult it. This is, we think regrettable, for if any person is well informed to-day on the life and work of the "Pucelle d' Orleans," we think

this person is the present bishop of Orleans. However the book is not lacking in fine qualities both of style and diction that will readily recommend it to the most critical of readers.

A final remark we must make is this. The title of this new book reads "Sainte Jeanne d' Arc," and therefore one would naturally expect to find a chapter or a few pages at least devoted to the discussion of the latest event touching Joan of Arc: viz: her canonization. This is an event that has stirred the whole Catholic world and the fact that it came five hundred years after the death of Joan would naturally call for some explanation or short notice regarding it. The author has neglected to do this, and instead has dismissed the subject in one line in his Epilogue. The majority of his readers will be persons who had not the happy privilege of attending this magnificent ceremony, and only a select few are acquainted with the events that led up to it. This however is the crowning factor of Joan's whole life; the official recognition of her holiness deposed in a third and final trial—that of her canonization.

All lives of Saints end up in this fashion. Something is told of the favors received through their intercession and the reason that induced the Church to place them on her altars. No such explanation is to be found in the biography offered to the public by Father Petitot, and in this we think he has blundered.

S. RAEMERS.

Three Men of Judea. John, Jesus, and Paul. By Henry S. Stix.
Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., Pp. 101.

This book would be ridiculous did it not deal with such serious subjects. As it is, it is pathetic. The author is quoted in the cover advertisement, as having written to the publishers: "It is not written for scholars, but for those honest and simple-minded folk who have never read their Bible." He is right. The least sign of scholarship or the most superficial acquaintance with the Bible disposes of its theories as the sun scatters the hoar-frost.

The whole theme is a rehash of the venomous rationalism of a quarter of a century ago, now thoroughly discredited even among unbelievers. The author accepts the myth of a Buddhistic

origin of the Baptist's teachings, and makes his successor in a sort of Buddhist-Essene community Jesus of Nazareth, his cousin, for whom of course no supernatural origin or mission is admitted. The simple-minded disciples were deceived of course by the brilliancy of this Teacher and when "several years after the death of Jesus (p. 56) Saul of Tarsus comes along, it is he who revivified and reincarnated the drooping cause" (p. 49) which Peter and the others had "built on such weak and narrow lines [that it] could not long survive." (ibid.)

Everyone knows the line pursued. One wonders that at this late date it can be still set forth seriously. The book is trash, unmixed trash.

FLOYD KEELER.

The Life and Letters of Sister St. Francis Xavier (Irma Le Fer de la Motte). By one of Her Sisters, Mme. Clémentine De La Corbinière. Translated from the French by The Sisters of Providence. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., Pp. xxix+416.

When Indiana was a foreign mission! As one thinks of the two large Dioceses in that state now, the high repute and great respect in which Catholic priests and religious are now held there, it seems scarcely possible that less than 80 years ago this was a wilderness in more ways than one, that Religious did not dare wear their habits when traveling, that the Catholic religion was all but unknown and that those who were labouring for souls under its banner were almost exclusively from France—on a real foreign mission. Among those valiant women who founded St. Mary's-of-the-Woods, was the subject of this sketch. From her first awakening of a vocation it was her desire to consecrate herself to service in America but it was only after a long series of trials that she was allowed to see the fulfilment of her wish. Coming from a family where prayer and sacrifice for God were the order of the day, we are not so much surprised to find Irma Le Fer de la Motte becoming one of the most valued and saintly members of the little band of the Sisters of Providence.

One could pick out dozens of extracts from these letters and

still fall short of giving an adequate picture of the hardships which the infant community endured, the heroism of its members, the wonderful (it sometimes seems almost miraculous) deeds which they performed. It does not take a very vivid imagination to find one's self with Mother Theodore Guérin, Sister St. Francis Xavier, and her own sister, Elvire, known in Religion as Sister Mary Joseph, as they went about among their charges in the woods of Indiana. To one who is familiar with the region it is all very true to nature and the task of projecting one's mind into the past is the easier.

How Sister St. Francis, always delicate, managed to endure the rigours of the winters and the oppressive heat of the summers in the valley of the Wabash, and all the while to attend to such arduous tasks as would tax one of the greatest physical strength, is but a proof of God's ability to bring strength out of the weak things of this world. The wonder is not that Sister St. Francis' life was short, but that she managed to live for fifteen years amid such privations and difficulties.

This volume is valuable for its sidelights on many points in early American Catholic history as well for the example of missionary heroism which it sets forth. The Sisters of Providence may well feel proud of the trio, Mother Theodore, Sister St. Francis Xavier, and Sister Mary Joseph who appear so prominently in this volume. It is fitting that their mortal remains rest "in the crypt of the conventional church" (p. 411) at St. Mary's-of-the-Woods, where their example may the more easily be recalled to their spiritual daughters and to the many young girls who pass through the halls of this great institution on their way to assume their places in the life of the nation and Church.

FLOYD KEELER.

Dublin University and the New World, a Memorial Discourse
preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, May 31,
1921, Rev. Robert H. Murray, Litt.D. Published by the
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London: 1921.
Pp. 96.

Dr. Murray finds "a peculiar pleasure in tracing the connection between remote cause and effect," but does not realize the

danger which this mental sport has in store. To the discovery of America, he ascribes England's determination to dominate Ireland: "Before 1492 Ireland acted as a breakwater between England and the ocean, but now, for the first time, she lay athwart English trade between the New World and the Old. He who controls her harbours controls English commerce. From this point of view the discovery of America was fatal to the aspirations of the Irish to independence. The control of Ireland was vital to England, and sixteenth century statesmen soon perceived that this control must be effective: hence the confiscations and plantations which now begin to mark the history of Ireland." (p. 9). It is even more difficult to agree with the theory that Copernicus and Columbus made the Reformation inevitable. (p. 9) Yet such are the historical conclusions of too many preachers untrained in historical method and untutored in self-restraint.

Trinity College, founded in 1591 by Queen Elizabeth, early displayed a Puritan tone, which accounts for its popularity among extreme Protestants of non-conforming tendencies. The four sons commemorated in this discourse are: John Sherrard, 1658, who came from Providence Isle; Samuel Watter, graduate of Harvard, Oxford, and Trinity, preacher to the Parliamentary Commissioners in Scotland, and retired by the Conventicle Act after the Restoration; Increase Watter who went from Harvard to Trinity, was troubled by the Clarendon Code and returned to the pastorate of the Old North Church in Boston; and John Winthrop Jr., Governor of Connecticut, son of the Massachusetts Bay leader, and alumnus of Dublin University. Digressions are pregnant and lengthy, for in sketching their careers, Rev. Mr. Murray considers Puritanism, its intolerance, lack of democracy and, worship of an aristocratic deity, the struggle for a half-way covenant, the treatment of Quakers and witches, Roger Williams and his philosophy, and in his original way develops some novel theories of colonial history along with well-turned sentences.

A short appendix lists some "Trinity Emigrants and Immigrants." Among the fourteen for the eighteenth century are: George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, philosopher, and patron of Yale; Harman Blennerhasset, associate of Aaron Burr in his

western schemes; and the brave Richard Montgomery, friend of Barré, Burke, and Fox, and though recently emigrated, leader in the fatal Quebec expedition. Eight names with short biographical notes are included for the nineteenth century, among whom are: John Brougham (1814-1888), actor and dramatist, as well known in New York as in London or Dublin; Sir John Hagarty, chief-justice of Ontario; John Mitchel, the Irish patriot, who, "in his implacable hatred of England was honest but utterly impracticable"; Sir Charles Monck, first Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada; Thomas Devin Reilly, Irish patriot and exile, and later editor of the *Washington Union*; and Sir Bryan Robinson, judge and member of Newfoundland parliament.

Americans would welcome the growing interest in our history evidenced in the British Isles, if they were assured it was a scholarly interest, devoid of political significance. Dr. Murray however is obviously too anxious to teach Americans a loyalty to the mother-country. However the lecture is worth while as an English interpretation, and quite worthy of thoughtful consideration.

R. J. P.

The First Crusade, the accounts of eye-witnesses and participants.

By August C. Krey, Associate Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1921. Pp. viii+299.

Professor Krey deserves well of students as well as readers of history to whom the original narratives of the Crusaders are either inaccessible or, in these "lack-o-Latin days," not understandable. We wish other scholars would furnish us (and publishers print!) English translations of other unfamiliar even though important sources. For the Catholic historical world, we might add, that mediaeval sources, such as this, ought to be edited by Catholics.

Be that as it may, Professor Krey has brought the most important sources of the history of the First Crusade together in about 250 pages. Two of these sources are translated in full, the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hiersolymitanorum* of the Anonymous, and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers. Nine other sources, among them Fulcher

of Chartres, Ekkehard, abbot of Aura, Guibert, abbot of Nogent, and Anna Comnena, have been liberally drawn upon, their accounts being inserted in order that the reader may be able to check the statements of one by those of others to contrast feelings or get a more complete and vivid picture of the times. Fourteen letters also are woven into the narrative.

To give all these men (Anna Comnena, of course, would interest us anyhow) due time to tell their stories, many of them tales of discord, bloodshed, hardships and misery, and yet save the reader's patience required not a little ingenuity in the part of the editor. He has done very well in this respect. The story runs smoothly through seven chapters from Clermont to Jerusalem. With the accuracy of the translation little fault may be found. Occasionally Catholic terms are not rendered as a Catholic would render them, a defect to be noted, however, even in more ambitious works such as the *Jesuit Relations*. Not infrequently the English offends. But only he who has attempted to translate the bad Latin of some chroniclers, "neither sophisticated nor highly trained" in the art of writing, will appreciate the difficulty of making a translation that is at once proof against criticism and above reproach in English. There are, however, typographical errors which can not be excused.

The accounts are preceded by an introduction in which the editor fairly appraises the worth of the writers of the narratives and generally prepares the reader for a better understanding of them. Topical discussions on subjects—how news was distributed in the days of the First Crusade, money and prices, military arrangements, expressions of time and of numbers engaged—are very helpful. Illuminating, too, are the brief introductions to the chapters. The notes, however, leave something to be desired. A reference to Caffaro's *Liberatio Orientis*, XIV, will hardly satisfy the curious reader in the matter of the Lord's "yearly miracle" (p. 34). "Indulgence funds" (p. 264) might be explained. The notes might be made much more complete. Finally, many a temper will be sorely tried by the necessity its owner is under to refer to the end of the book for these notes. Four sketch maps occur in the text, but the lettering on these is unnecessarily too small to make the maps very serviceable. Unfortunately, there is no index.

In spite of these, in a sense unessential, shortcomings we have every reason to welcome this book. Teachers who would train their students to search for scattered information, let us say, for evidence concerning foods, forests, atrocities, humanitarian feelings, or to "cut their wisdom teeth" on the problems of criticism, will not find the book too bulky or bewildering. Men and women of common sense, realizing that men and women at all times had more common sense than the fairy tales that pass for history, particularly the history of the Crusades seem to give them credit for, will surely be refreshed by these "first-told" tales. Yet another sort that writes to edify may learn from these crude sketches that genuine edification, from which there is no rude awakening, comes only through the telling of the whole and unvarnished truth.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Great-Hearted Women. By Mabel Ansley Murphy, Philadelphia: The Union Press. Pp. 164.

This little volume contains short biographies of sixteen women, chosen with reference to the fact that they showed "greatheartedness" in their unselfish service of others. The book is copyrighted by the "American Sunday School Union" and is a book intended for use as a sort of supplementary textbook in Sunday Schools or for the libraries which are often connected with them. It is intended to give "help by reading of others who have suffered as we are suffering, and have had the strength to be strong, or to 'come back' after failure." (p. 5.)

The lives chosen all exemplify what women may do and have done. They are principally those within the past century and a half, and are all chosen from among Protestant Christians—largely, though not altogether, of the quietistic type. While they may not exhibit the heroic piety which is so often seen in the lives of the saints as we know them, they do set forth some very human, latter-day exemplars which both Catholics and Protestants can afford to imitate to great advantage. The insight into some of the more intimate phases of these lives is valuable to anyone who is on a "quest for the real things of life." (p. 6)

The Citizen and the Republic. A Text-book on Government. By James Albert Woodburn and Thomas Francis Moran. Revised Edition. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Pp. lxv +424.

The Catholic Citizen. By John A. Lapp, LL.D., New York: The Macmillan Co., Pp. x+247.

These two volumes have both the same general purpose, viz: to acquaint our youth with the forms of government and to produce from them good citizens. Each in its sphere is a valuable contribution to these causes. Full treatment of the duties a citizen owes to the state, and, especially in the first mentioned, a rather minute account of the elements which go to make up our somewhat complicated governmental forms, are set forth clearly. "The Catholic Citizen" of course, deals a little more specifically with the application of those sections of the recent "Pastoral Letter" which have to do with our civic status, and the illustrations depict Catholic activities to a large extent. On the other hand, "The Citizen and the Republic" is more detailed and touches many subjects that are not treated in the other volume. Its section, "How to Obtain Information" is a very excellent departure, and puts original sources at the command of both teacher and pupils. Appendices giving the text of "The Articles of Confederation," "The Constitution of the United States," and statistical tables will be found most valuable for ready reference.

Probably it would be unnecessary to use both books as texts in the same class, yet each contains so much that the other omits, that they are really supplementary. Together they make a complete survey of all that a Catholic who is at the same time a citizen of the American Republic should know of his country's government. Moreover, if he will but apply and follow the ideals set forth in these works he will not be likely to fail, either civically or religiously, in his duty towards his neighbour.

Both volumes have the high standard of mechanical excellence which so usually distinguished the output of their respective publishing houses.

FLOYD KEELER.

Monasticism and Civilization. By Very Rev. John B. O'Connor, O.P., P.G., New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. Pp. ix+253.

The recasting of civilization which has been taking place in the past decade has caused men to examine afresh the bases of much that has been long taken for granted. Among the habits of mind that had become, one might say, fixed, was that of disparaging the contribution of monasticism in the formation of our modern institutions. While this tendency has been accentuated by non-Catholic writers, who had a purpose in their denunciation of the monks, their very insistence and their show of learning has sometimes influenced Catholics to underestimate what we really do owe to this set of consecrated men. Father O'Connor has therefore put us in his debt by presenting in brief compass and in popular style an *apologia* which should give us a new outlook upon their lives and works.

He traces "Monasticism and Its Development" (Ch. I.), showing that its influence upon civilization, great as it has been, was "not the primary purpose for which [it] was instituted" (p. 2.) but was and "could not be otherwise than secondary and incidental to the sublime task of achieving the perfection of divine love which constituted the immediate and primary purpose of their religious existence." (*Ibid.*) Touching briefly upon the various monastic establishments prior to this time, we come to St. Benedict, the real founder of cenobitic monasticism in the West. It is to him that we owe practically all that we know of the institution; it is through the Benedictines that nearly all the monastic achievements which we so admire, have come, and so this volume often seems almost like a Benedictine chronicle, though the works of others, Carthusians, Cistercians, and the monks of the older Irish and Welsh foundations are not omitted. "In the present account....the writer has confined himself to the exact meaning of the word 'monk'. For this reason he has excluded from his pages the splendid contributions to the work of civilization of Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans, and the other great families of friars produced by the Middle Ages." (p. viii)

Treating "Monasticism and Agriculture" (Ch. III.) we are shown the monks at work in the forests and morasses of Europe,

carrying on their works with a scientific accuracy that would do credit to a far more learned age, and converting the moors and fens from pestilential holes into garden spots, from which we too often "today gather the fruits of their labors without a thought for them, or a prayer." (p. 56.)

Perhaps more interesting for moderns is the fact that "absolute social equality" (p. 71) and "the great principle of Christian democracy" (p. 72.) are monastic in origin. Thus the influence of the monks upon present day life is seen to be vast and far-reaching. So too, the contribution of the monasteries to education is incalculable. Monastic schools were for a long time practically the only ones, and the labours of the monks in preserving the learning of the ancients is immeasurable. "Practically all the literature of the first half of the Middle Ages, from the sixth to the eleventh century, was produced by the monks," (p. 133), and more than that, to them "is due, humanly speaking, the preservation of the Bible." (p. 115).

The author effectively disposes of the calumny that ignorant monastic copyists were principally responsible for the loss of priceless documents through the practice of erasing valuable material to obtain parchments on which to inscribe pious homilies and legends. In like manner he points out that not until the destruction of the monasteries was there any need for what we know as "charity" for the monks had administered relief in such a way that in "England prior to the Reformation there was no need of poor laws." (p. 166).

The latter part of this little volume is taken up with a discussion of the work of the monks in evangelisation, which was after all their great external work, at least from their own point of view, and "the material benefits conferred on humanity" (p. 178) were considered as mere "by-products." For seven centuries the Benedictines exercised a practically "undisputed apostolate" (p. 182) and the conversion of Europe was the result. Brief sketches of the work of the monks in the evangelisation of England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France and a section devoted to their labours in other countries conclude the work. It is a little hard to find out what the author is trying to tell us when he makes the statement that St. Patrick, "died March 17, 465" (p. 201) and then further on informs us that he

"was occupied from 433 to 493—a period of sixty years—in the conversion of Ireland, dying at the age of one hundred and twenty years," (p. 203) while he has already told us that he was "born in 354 in France" (p. 199). Leaving out of the question disputed points these dates are evidence of a slip somewhere. The book is too good, too sound, too entirely praiseworthy, to be marred by this inconsistency. It is to be hoped that it will be corrected.

The usefulness of this work is not confined to those who are of the household of Faith, but it can easily be placed in the hands of non-Catholics as well. The fact that in the bibliography fourteen (possibly fifteen) of the thirty-four works cited are by non-Catholics will serve to enhance the impression of unbiased treatment.

We may well agree with the author's own feeling of thankfulness that "the spirit of St. Benedict still lives" (p. 235) and "that the mighty engine of religion by which these marvelous things were done is still laboring with the same silent efficiency" (p. 234) as of yore.

FLOYD KEELER.

Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774-1776. Edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews in Collaboration with Charles McLean Andrews, Professor of American History in Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. Pp. 341.

This Journal, Egerton Ms. 2423 of the British Museum, comprises the familiar letters of a lady of quality to immediate friends in Scotland during her journey to the West Indies and Carolina and her return by way of Lisbon, Portugal. From two recently discovered copies of the manuscript, it has been learned that the lady was a certain Janet Schaw of Edinburgh who with her brother, friends, maid servant, and East Indian man servant sailed from the Firth of Forth to visit a brother long absent on his plantation near Wilmington, North Carolina. It is a fascinating story for the lady was a close observer of Catholic interests, of aristocratic leanings, of a hardy Presbyterian pre-

judice, and, yet, of a humor broad rather than delicate. Historically, it would be easy to exaggerate the importance of the Journal.

Skillfully she describes the long voyage, sailing between the Orkneys and the Shetland Isles, following the trade winds, sighting the Azores, landing at Antigua and St. Christopher's for a few weeks, and then heading directly for the Cape Fear River. One realizes the hardships of cabin passengers, the inhuman treatment accorded the indentured Scots and the storm-danger in the frail Jamaica Packet. The *Lady Janet* makes valuable observations concerning the manners and customs of the islanders and of the Americans, their home life, plantations, negroes, indentured servants, methods of farming, sugar-raising, and political grievances. A loyal Hanoverian, she has unkind impressions of the rebels who would disarm the negroes, force men to drill, and compel neutrals to sign the "Association," while the loyalists win her sympathies. However, it is well to see patriot and tory in a contemporary light.

The editors urge in this connection: "Such contemporary evidence makes us realize that our forefathers, however worthy their object, were engaged in real rebellion and revolution, characterized by the extremes of thought and action that always accompany such movements, and not in the kind of parlour (sic) warfare, described in many of our text books, in which highly cultivated and periwigged American gentlemen of unquestioned taste and morality, together with farmers of heroic mould, engaged life and limb for principles of democratic government, which developed, in fact, only during the later periods of our national life. A definitive account of the loyalists in our revolution has yet to be written, but such a contribution should help to clarify our minds about the facts of our colonial history, and counteract the false judgments and prejudices which perpetuate what a recent writer so aptly described as *the ancient grudge*" (P. 9).

The section (pp. 218-254) discussing the sojourn in Lisbon is interesting as the reaction of a Lowland follower of John Knox in a Latin and Catholic country. Intolerant, but not

malicious her comments, evidencing no profundity, amuse rather than annoy. A long appendix contains exceptionally valuable material on Scottish immigration, Scots in the Carolinas, and concerning provincial and loyalist leaders.

In format, the book is a gem even among the publications of the Yale Press; and as for editing the imprimatur of C. M. Andrews is enough for students of American colonial history.

R. J. P.

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN CURRENT PERIODICALS.

A proposito dei-Testimonies di R. Harris, S. G. Mercati (*Biblica*, April.)

Arthur Griffith, President of the Dail Eireann, James Stephens. (*The Review of Reviews*) March.

Archiepiscopal Pallium, The. D. B. Zema, S.J. (*Catholic World*, April).

Barry, James. Thomas Bodkin, (*Studies*, March.)

Baltic States From An Irish Point of View, The. F. McCullough. (*Studies*, March).

Church and the Rural Community, The. Edwin V. O'Hara, LL.D. (*Catholic Charities Review*, April).

Church and Spiritualism The. A. D. Belden, (*Pilgrim*, April).

Charity in the Nineteenth Century. The Little Sisters of the Poor. Rev. William P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. (*Magnificat*, April).

Christianity and Today. Francis Shunk Downs. (*Princeton Theological Review*, April).

China in Transformation. E. R. Colquhoun. (*Islamic Review*, February).

Catholic Social Work in Chile. Luis R. Ramirez. (*Catholic World*, April).

Chronicle—Catholic Thought and Action in Italy. George O'Neill. (*Studies*, March).

Der "Integralismus" im deutchen Katholeizismus. Dr. C. M. Kaufmann. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April).

Dante Six Hundred Years Ago and Now. David S. Schaff. (*Princeton Theological Review*, April).

Darwinism. C. C. Martindale, S.J. (*Inter-University Magazine*, January).

Evolutionary Theories of Culture. Albert Muntsch, S.J. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April).

Eternal Life—VI. Bishop of Sebastopolis. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, March).

Ensayos Criticos. Alfonso Reyes. Manuel F. Cestero. (*Cuba Contemporanea*, February).

Existe-t-il un commentaire de Jean Sarrazin sur la "Hierarchie celeste" du Pseudo- Denys. G. Thery, O.P. (*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques*, January).

Francis Aidan Cardinal Gasquet. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. (*Catholic World*, May).

First University in America, The. Address by Gordon W. McCabe. (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, April).

Foreign Policy of France, The. Denis Gwynn (*Studies*, March).

Going to Church in the Second Century. Percy Dearmer. (*Pilgrim*, April).

Historic Spots in Wisconsin, W. A. Titus, (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, March).

History of the Know-Nothing Party in Indiana. Carl Fremont Brand. (*Indiana Magazine of History*).

His Holiness Pope Pius XI. Cardinal Gasquet. (*Review of Reviews*, March).

Hapsburg Throne-Chase, A. Dr. Gustav Gratz. (*Living Age*, March 25).

How Monks Saved Learning. Marguerite Fedden. (*Rosary Magazine*, March).

Is Temptation ever Irresistible? Rev. David Barry. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Review*, March).

Irish Nuns of Lisbon, The. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Review*, March).

Is There Common Citizenship? Alfred O'Rahilly. (*Studies*, March).

Ireland's Sources of Power Supply. Lawrence J. Kettle, (*Studies*, March).

Ireland and the American Civil War. Richard J. Purcell, Ph.D. (*Catholic World*, April).

Le rôle social des religieux contemplatifs. Joseph Ferland. (*Le Canada Français*, April).

La Doctrine des Scolastiques sur l'efficacité des Indulgences. A. Janssen. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, April).

Le titre "Kyrios" et la dignité royale de Jesus. L. Cerfauz. (*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, January).

L'évolutionisme et les formes passées. Fr. Vial (*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, January).

L'Evangile de saint Luc d'après un nouveau commentaire. Jean Cales, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March).

L'Abbé Emile Petitot Et Les Découvertes Géographiques du Canada. A. G. Morice. (*Le Canada Français*, February).

Lois Mal Faites. Adjutor Rivard. (*Le Canada Français*, February).

Mediaevalism and Irish Literature. Martin J. Les. (*Catholic World*, May).

Modern 'Maria Monk', The. H. Belloc. (*Inter-University Magazine*, January).

Mithras and Mithraism. Sir Bertram C. A. Windle, LL.D. (*Catholic World*, March).

Native Tribes of Virginia, The. David I. Bushnell, Jr. (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, April).

New Evidence on the Origin of Israel's Laws. Samuel A. B. Mercer. (*Anglican Theological Review*, March).

Notes de littérature Canadienne. Vers l'âge d'or. Camille Roy. (*Le Canada Français*, March).

Next Step in New Testament Study, The. Harold R. Wiloughby. (*Journal of Religion*, March).

Our Lady of Nom Successo. Rt. Rev. Mgr. Doherty. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Review*, March).

Peter Martyr and the Colloquy of Poissy. Benjamin F. Paist, Jr. (*Princeton Theological Review*, April).

Postscript on the Sonper Problem, A. Rev. M. H. MacInerney, O.P. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, March).

Pope as Alpine Climber, The. (*Review of Reviews*, March).

Pages Domaines, Palestrina. Don Paolo Agosto. (*Le Canada Français*, March).

Prospect for Catholicism in Nationalist India. G. B. Lal. (*Catholic World*, March).

Pope Benedict XV. Edward A. Pace, Ph.D. (*Catholic World*, March).

Paginas para la Historia de Cuba. Documentos para la historia de la escultura y de la pintura en Cuba. Francisco G. del Valle. (*Cuba Contemporanea*, February).

Pioneer of Nations, A. Eoin MacNeill. (*Studies*, March).

Russian Sects, The. Clarence A. Manning. (*Anglican Theological Review*, March).

Reconciliation of Catholicism and Protestantism, The. Theodore B. Foster. (*Anglican Theological Review*, March).

Religion's Pace in Securing a Better World Order. James H. Tufts. (*The Journal of Religion*, March).

Supreme Sacrifice, R. F. O'Connor. (*Catholic World*, May).

School and the Home, The. John O'Grady, Ph.D. (*Catholic Charities Review*, April).

Sa Sainté Benoit XV. Le Pape de la paix. Arthur Robert. (*Le Canada Français*, March).

Serbian Orthodox Church, The. Its Relations with Rome and Constantinople. F. Aurelio Palmieri, O.S.A., D.D. (*Catholic World*, March).

Stake of Protestantism in the Christian Union Movement, The. George Cross. (*Journal of Religion*, March).

To John Augustine Zahm. Maurice Francis Egan. *Catholic World*, April).

Uno scritto di Gregorio d'Elvira tra gli spurii di S. Girolamo. A. Vaccari. (*Biblica*, April).

Veteroslavicae Versionis Evangeliorum pro critica et exegesis textus momentum. A. Snoj. (*Biblica*, April).

What is American Literature. Catharine McPartlin. (*Magnificat*, April).

Woman's Influence in the East. John J. Pool. (*Islamic Review*, February).

When Was Our Lord Born? Rev. L. Cardwell. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, March).

Witchcraft. Herbert Thurston, S.J. (*Studies*, March). Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Buches Judith. C. Meyer. (*Biblica*, April).

NOTES AND COMMENT

Was Father Francis Eusebius Kino an Italian?— F. Kino, S.J., was one of those Mexican missionaries who during the century preceding the Declaration of Independence explored and evangelized what is now the Southwest of the United States. He died in 1711. He it was that settled for good the question whether Lower California is an island or part of the continent. Two years ago a lengthy article about him and his work appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*. About the same time there was a series of contributions in the *St. Louis Pastoralblatt* on the life of this heroic pioneer priest. Meanwhile Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton, of the University of California, published an English translation of F. Kino's great work, the *Favores Celestiales* (Heavenly Favors) in which the missionary describes at length his work among the Indians and the discoveries he made. In 1911 Professor Bolton came across the manuscript of this admirable work in the Archives of the City of Mexico, after it had been reputed lost for a century and a half.

A remarkable importance was attached by the writers of all the above mentioned articles to the question whether F. Kino was an Italian or a German. Some of the arguments adduced for his being an Italian certainly do not hold good. F. Kino was born in the southern part of the Tyrol, "where there are no Germans." He was besides a relative of Father Martin Martini, S.J., a renowned missionary in China, who was born in Trent, and whose name it was thought indicates his Italian extraction. For these reasons is was supposed F. Kino must have been an Italian.

Now the fact is that in the whole southern part of the Tyrol, the "Trentino," the population was formerly much more mixed than it is now. Not only did the Jesuit College of Trent belong to the Upper German Province of the Order, but in 1628, that is, sixteen years before Kino's birth, a Jesuit was appointed as German preacher for the Church of St. Peter in that city, where the German people used to assemble, (Duhr, S.J., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Landern deutscher Zunge*, Vol. II, Part I. page 224.) Moreover, in the very valley in which F. Kino's birthplace is located, the Val di Non (Val di Noce; in German, the Nonsthal or das Nonsbergische) there were as late as 1895 still several German villages. (See Baedeker, *Eastern Alps*, 1895, page 338), and, as a friend who comes from that neighborhood assures the present writer, the dialect spoken in the valley is full of German words. The name of Martini may well have been German. More than one family name of that character occurs in German, as Antoni, Arnoldi, Wilhelmi. There is in fact a German poet of the very name of Martini. And even if in our case the name is Italian, which is probably though not certain, may the missionary not have had German relations? Many an Hibernian in America has German cousins. So F. Kino may have been a German, though....he had a rela-

tion of the name of Martini, and though he was born in the southern Tyrol, the Wälsch-Tyrol, or Welsch-Tyrol, as it is called in German.

But the matter was settled by the Rev. F. G. Holweck, editor of the *St. Louis Pastoralblatt*.. As he tells us in his periodical, 1921, page 127, he wrote for information directly to a priest in Welsch-Tyrol, who in turn forwarded his letter to the Rev. Simon Weber, at Trent. From this scholar F. Holweck received the answer, that F. Kino was born in the village of Segna, of the parish of Torra; that the family which still exists has the Italian name of Chini (pronounced Keenee); and that the part of the Nonsthal in which the parish is situated is Italian. The missionary's own name was Chino, which is the singular form of Chini. When a missionary in Spanish Mexico, he changed the spelling of his name into Kino to avoid annoying misunderstandings. Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., the great bibliographer of the Society of Jesus, obtained practically the same information. He makes, however, no allusion to the Italian character of the district from which F. Kino comes. He also gives the name of his home parish as Thonum, which in all likelihood originated in a spelling mistake, the two r's in the word having been read as n, while the h after the T and the ending um might point to some ancient Latin form of the name. The latter is the more probable as the word occurs in a Latin phrase quoted by Sommervogel.

These facts do away with the supposition, frequently met with in German authors, that the great missionary's name was originally *Kühn*. F. Kino was never called *Kühn* and never used that name. But he occasionally, even later on, signed documents with a latinized form of his Italian name, *Chinus*.

But if F. Kino was of Italian extraction, was he therefore in no way a German? The question is exactly the same as: Was Theodore Roosevelt, by extraction a Dutchman, in no sense an American? The homeland of F. Kino had been German since, in 951, Otto the Great conquered northern Italy, freed Queen Adelheid from her oppressors, and by marrying her became King of northern Italy. Since 1027 the Trentino was in the closest connection with the Empire itself. (See Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, page 63). The Bishop of Trent was a German prince and had a vote in the German Diets. For six hundred years, then, and more F. Kino's ancestors had been German citizens.

There was no language question in those centuries. The rulers did not care what language their subjects spoke, as long as they were loyal. Nor did the subjects care what language their ruler spoke, as long as he was their rightful sovereign. This was one of the features of the Feudal System. F. Kino, at any rate, spoke much more German in his life than Italian. He spent his boyhood in the Jesuit boarding school at Hall near Innsbruck, in the very heart of the German Tyrol, a land belonging to the private dominions of the Hapsburg Emperors. He received his whole religious training, from the novitiate on, in the institutions of the Upper German Province, north of the Alps, and it was here that he acted as teacher.

He was a German citizen with an absolutely and completely German education.

He certainly moved in a surrounding—his brethren in religion—which was thoroughly German and unfalteringly loyal to the emperor. Just when he entered the Order, all Germany was ringing with the manifestations of joy and thanksgiving for the battle of the St. Gotthard, won in 1664 by the imperial army over the arch-enemy of Christianity, the Turk. From his boyhood he participated in the public prayers for the emperor, and every year he heard the oration *Pro Imperatore* sung in the services of Good Friday. Repeatedly he calls himself a German, and he would have taken it as an insult of the gravest kind, had anybody doubted his loyalty to his emperor.

The Germans, therefore, are fully in their right, if they point with pride to Francis Eusebius Kino, S.J., as one of their greatest men. F. Kino is truly theirs. He is, to say little, as much a German as Mr. Roosevelt, in spite of his Dutch name and extraction, is an American. In the introductory chapter of the excellent translation of the *Favores Celestiales*, on page 29, Professor Bolton says: "Though his name was Italian in form, Kino's birth, education, and early association were altogether German." This statement seems to sum up the question pretty well. And yet we are inclined to modify it slightly. We should omit the "in form," because his name was genuinely Italian, at least non-German; and moreover, he himself was evidently Italian by extraction. But it should be understood, that by "birth" is induced civil allegiance, German citizenship, a fact which is still more emphasized by an altogether German education and association.

At the same time, F. Kino is one of those personages, who like many Americans shed honor not only on the country which is proud of their actual citizenship, but also on the nation with which they are connected by the bonds of descendants. Strictly speaking the race to which F. Kino and the non-German population of his valley belongs, is different from the Italian. These people are descendants of the ancient Raetians, who inhabited this whole section of the Alps, and were reduced to a Roman province under Emperor Augustus. During the Migration of Nations the country was depopulated first and then re-settled by Germans, with the exception of some of the more remote valleys. In these the old inhabitants remained. Their descendants are called Romansh in some valleys of the Swiss Canton of Grisons (Graubünden); Ladini (Ladins, Ladiner) in the southern Tyrol (the Nonsthal and the Dolomite Alps); and Friaulians farther east. They preserved, not without changes, that sort of provincial Latin which was spoken by their ancestors when under Roman rule, and which is not Italian. (See "Rätoromanische Sprachen" in *Herder's Konversations-Lexikon*; and R. Andrees, *Allgemeiner Handatlas*, page 45. At F. Kino's time the difference between them and the Italians proper was more marked than it is to-day.

The Middle Ages. In the January number of the *Review*, special notice was given to the striking article of Mr. G. R. Taylor, which appeared in the October number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* for 1921. No less striking is a recent article entitled *Medievalist and Modernist* in the April issue of the *North American Review* by Doctor John M. S. Allison, the assistant Professor of History at Yale University. In this article, Doctor Allison, like Mr. Taylor, pleads for a true valuation of the medieval period and its manifold achievements. After a caustic indictment of the modern neglect of classical and medieval study, which has led us, in the words of Doctor Allison, "to commit many errors of judgment and frequent acts of intellectual dishonesty," he condemns in no uncertain terms the habit of calling the Middle Ages "the Dark Ages." Doctor Allison writes:—

Of these (errors of judgment and frequent acts of intellectual dishonesty) the most blasphemous has been the habit of calling the Middle Ages "the Dark Ages." Our modern historians, for example, will summarize the period somewhat as follows: A time of abysmal ignorance, when the world was enveloped in an intellectual obscurity that must have rivaled the earth's darkness when the first great cloudburst descended upon us and sent Noah's ship out upon the greater deep. That is enough, for we must hurry on to more important and to more fertile fields, to the great modern world (that we behold in ruins to-day). Such treatment of the past has become almost general in this our modern era of enlightenment. It is not simple dishonesty, it is superficiality to the nth degree; but worse even, spare the word, it is a mark of intellectual inefficiency. To break with the past! That is the slogan in school and in college. Yet, do we ever ponder, I wonder, upon this strange fact? Without the Middle Ages, you and I would not be here, our Universities would be things unknown, our Gothic structures would be unconstructed and our fundamental principles of liberty would be without foundation.

After all, it was the Middle Ages that gave us these, and it is the antithesis of the Middle Ages that would destroy them. It is true, the Middle Ages meant groping in darkness, but it was not the groping of a man alone, for the medievalist possessed faith and enjoyed the discipline of a reasonable authority that guided but did not limit too much his wanderings. The Middle Age man was our intellectual as well as our physical progenitor. But with the callousness of youth we deny his worth. In our pride at having invented steam engines, sawmills, movies and phonographs, we have forgotten that the medievalist accomplished a more fundamental work for us. He it was who defined the basic principles of construction, who transmitted principles of learning, of poetry and of free government. And he it was who even gave us God, at least the God whom three-quarters of the Christian World

know as God today. The medievalist did not invent these things, as some would like to say, but he received them from an earlier civilization that was fast disappearing. Unlike us, he acknowledged the sources of his own history and of his civilization. He acknowledged his debt to the past. These gifts of a fading world he assimilated with long and tedious labor, and he gave to us the fruits of his efforts. All of them we enjoy to-day, but many of them we seek to destroy. And as to their origins, we callously ignore them.

Doctor Allison notes as an encouraging sign the awakened interest in medieval study created by the work of many of the truly great historians of modern times.

"From within the fold and from without," writes Doctor Allison, "there are still a few who are trying to point out to us the real way before it is too late and before we become lost in the very Stygian blackness that we attribute to the Middle Ages. The means for our intellectual regeneration and refreshment, and for the instruction of those under us, are still at hand. Some are just at hand. Lavis, Fustel de Coulanges, Male, Sabatier, Luchaire and Henry Adams are modern names. Gibbon *malgré tout*, Montalembert, Freeman and a host of others still live in their fascinating works."

Doctor Allison is an example of the captivating power of the Middle Ages. The impartial historian, who approaches the Middle Ages without bias or prejudice, is always fascinated by the richness and variety of medieval achievement and never wearies of medieval study and research.

French Canadian Literature.—T. M. Morrow, under this caption, has an illuminating article in *The Literary Review*, of March 25:

On January 27, 1922, there was introduced in the Legislature of the Province of Quebec a bill, the provisions of which shortly became law, providing for the institution of three annual prizes for literature of the value of \$2,500, \$1,500, and \$500. These are to be known as the David Prizes and will go to authors resident in the Province whose work, either in French or English, is judged worthy. However, it is safe to assume that the main purpose of their institution is the encouragement of French-Canadian literature. That there will be no dearth of candidates for the awards is indicated by the printing on February 18 by *La Patrie*, a Montreal newspaper, of a full page of small portraits of French-Canadians, any of whom may be considered possible winners.

There already exists a French-Canadian literature, which, while crude and of minor importance in comparison with that of old France, possesses definite characteristics. Several things have contributed to its rising and will tend towards its development.

It is not improbable that, if Canada ever attains a literature worthy to rank with the great literatures of the world, it will be French rather than English.

The French-Canadian people are a people apart, isolated from their neighbors by reason of the language which they speak and from the France whence that language came by distance and political considerations. Long despised by their fellow Canadians and compelled to assert themselves in order to retain their language and laws, they have a pride in their origin that is in great contrast to the attitude of the mixture of races that makes up the English-speaking population of Canada. They are almost a unit in devout adherence to the Roman Catholic Church. In these things you have the explanation of their literature.

There are several things about that literature which will seem strange to English-speaking readers. It is almost entirely lacking in fiction worthy of record. And there is no "feminine nuisance" to be reckoned with. The women of the race are too busy at their great task of doubling the number of French-Canadians every thirty years to have time to waste on literary production. L'Abbé Camille Roy of Laval University in his *Manuel d'Histoire de la Littérature Canadienne-Française*, published at Quebec in 1918, lists something like 110 authors as worthy of record. Only three of these are women, although one, Laure Conan, is of the few novelists.

While the beginnngs of French-Canadian literature can be traced back to very near the time of the taking over of the country by the British in 1760, it is not until the years 1845 to 1848, when François Xavier Garneau issued his *Histoire du Canada*, that there is anything worthy of consideration as of permanent value. From the publication of this book dates the development of French-Canadian literature. In it the writers who followed have found much of their inspiration.

It is in the same field, that of the history of French Canada, that the race has produced its most original work. Numerous French-Canadians since Garneau's time have rewritten, corrected, and continued that history, until it would seem that there can be very little worthy of further record. Garneau's place as the premier historian of his people is secure, but there are at least ten others of special merit. Among them is Benjamin Sulte, who began his work over sixty years ago, has grown up with French-Canadian literature, and is still writing. Only a few days ago he announced that, having reached the age of eighty-two and published a total of 100 by no means slender volumes, he hopes to go on and establish a record that will keep future writers worrying if they hope to equal it.

After history, poetry is the field in which French-Canadians

have specialized. And here we come to strange and pathetic figures.

About the same time as Garneau issued the first volume of his history, Octave Cremazie, a youth of seventeen, opened a book-store at Quebec. He is reputed to have been a very poor man of business and his store developed into a literary club, where much discussion took place regarding the literature of France, which Cremazie was endeavoring to introduce among his compatriots, while sales were few. The frequenters of the place are said to have rather looked down upon the proprietor, who was an uncouth appearing person, stooping, broad-shouldered, bald-headed, much-bearded, short-sighted, and spectacled. However, this man, whose poems only numbered about twenty in all, and who, driven from his native land at the age of thirty-five, died poor and alone at Havre in 1879, did more to stir the imagination of his countrymen than any other, and he holds a secure place in Canadian literature as the most powerful influence towards a native production. His poems show plainly the influence of the French writer Hugo and others; they are stilted and wooden, but there is fire in them and they are, at least, live things.

Louis Frechette was Cremazie's immediate disciple. A man of better education, his work is more polished, and he produced a considerable quantity of it. His most important work is *La Légende d'un Peuple*, in which he set himself to write an epic containing the history of his race. He was honored by both France and England, and, for a time, came to personify the literature of his country. However, it now felt that, while Frechette produced the most polished verse of any French-Canadian writer and what he wrote was big in conception, he received more attention than he merited.

Linked with the school of Cremazie and Frechette are half a dozen other poets whose verses follow much the same lines. It must be admitted that French-Canadian poetry has tended to show great lack of originality in the choice of themes and its writers are wont to plant their forests with trees that never grew on Canadian soil, while they listen to the music of nightingales and other foreign birds.

About the end of the last century a new influence came into French-Canadian letters. A group of young men banded themselves together and boldly announced in the public press of Montreal the formation of "L'Ecole Littéraire de Montreal." From 1895 to 1900 this band existed, criticising one another's work, reading and studying, until they were broken up through internal jealousies. However, they have had a lasting influence. Since that time a much freer discussion of many things has been permissible among French-Canadians. And they produced two poets whose work is distinctive, while one, Emile Nelligan, is the

sole writer of his race to whom the word genius can be applied.

Born in 1883, Nelligan wrote as a mere boy, for he went mad in 1902 and his work ended. Naturally, his work shows the influence of the French poets whom he had read and allowance must be made, when reading him, for his astonishing ignorance of many things. But there is a spirit in his work all his own, he is extraordinarily sensitive to the musical value of vowels, and he broke away entirely from the hackneyed themes of his predecessors.

Albert Lozeau is the other member of this school whose work is outstanding. Born in 1868, he was stricken with spinal disease at the age of sixteen and confined to his bed thereafter. His work is more intellectual than Nelligan's, showing the result of the long hours of meditation spent by the writer.

Paul Morin is the outstanding poet of French Canada of today. Educated largely abroad, he had also travelled extensively in Europe and North Africa. He sings of strange exotic things, Oriental scenes far removed from his native land.

As an indirect product of "L'Ecole Littéraire de Montreal" comes Rodolphe Girard, who has written two volumes of tales and several novels, wherein he depicts the life of French Canada at various periods. His best work, *Marie Calumet*, is the *Main Street* of Quebec. Super-Zolaesque in its realism, this book scandalized French Canada, and it is now never mentioned in polite society. However, it is a book not without merit and a distinct relief from the attempts at historical romance and novels with a purpose that have been perpetrated by other French-Canadian writers.

Many French-Canadians have found their method of expression in the *chronique*, a record of a caprice of the imagination or an aspect of life. The most famous worker in this field was Arthur Buies, who was born in 1840 and died in 1891. He produced a great quantity of work classifiable as *chroniques* as well as half a dozen volumes of descriptive geographical studies.

Another field in which good work has been produced is that of political oratory. Probably this is not usually accepted as a form of literature, but the French-Canadians lay considerable stress upon it. The speeches of the late Sir Wilfred Laurier form an excellent example.

As to criticism, the words of Benjamin Sulte, written fifteen years back, still hold good: "It does not exist, for one cannot designate by that term the eulogies dictated by comradeship or attacks inspired by factions."

Altogether, the French-Canadians must be given great credit for their literature. Most of it produced by men who could have expected little other return for their work than the satisfaction of doing it, for the market for books has been limited and editions

have been small. The potentialities of this race in many lines are illimitable.

A Link with the Past. —Father Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., has an interesting account of an early Maine Catholic Mission in the *Indian Sentinel*, which epitomizes an important chapter in Catholic Missionary history:

Castine is one of the summer resorts of Maine. It is near the mouth of the Penobscot and to the west of Bar Harbor. On the opposite bank of the great river, and a little to the north, lies the town of Belfast. Between them is a vast expanse of water, broken here and there by densely wooded islands, which are like breakwaters against the fierce tides that rush in from the ocean, making it dangerous for the smaller craft to attempt to reach the beetling crags that guard the other side.

It is called Castine, after the famous Baron de Saint-Castin, who came over to the new World in 1666, with the Carignan Regiment to protect the colonists of New France, to check the aggressions of the English settlers to the South. He abandoned the civilized surroundings of Quebec; married the daughter of the Abenaki chief and passed the greater part of his life in leading his adopted kin against their English foes. When he finally withdrew to France in his declining years, his half-breed son took his place until the Abenaki were almost destroyed and had fled to the Indian reservations of St. Francis and Bécancour in Canada. The original name of the place was Pentagöet—another form of Penobscot.

The name Abenaki was a general term including, to a great extent, all the Indians of what is now the State of Maine. They were among the very best of the aborigines, and readily accepted faith. So intensely loyal were they to the French and to the Church that when what was left of them were invited to join in the Revolution of 1776, they willingly consented, on one condition, namely, that they might have a priest to accompany them to battle. The white people of the settlement were looked after mostly by the Capuchins, while the Jesuits devoted themselves to their affectionate Abenaki friends from the Penobscot to the Kennebec, beginning in the year 1646, when Druillettes came down from Quebec and established the mission of Norridgewock, and continuing until 1724, when Father Rasle was killed at that place by the English troops from Boston.

Of course, the little church of Castine was destroyed by the English when the Abenaki were vanquished or had fled, but a few years ago a plate was found with the inscription on it of "N. D. Sancta Spei" "Our Lady of Holy Hope." It was the title of the church and of course the devoted Bishop of Portland who is tireless

in his efforts to revive the Catholic memories of the State and whose ardent patriotism for the Commonwealth is recognized by all the inhabitants of Maine, resolved to delay no longer the erection of the church which he had long been meditating. This discovery of the ancient title was almost an admonition to begin. Thanks to the energy and discriminating taste of Father Kealy, to whom the work was entrusted, there now stands on the banks of the Penobscot a beautiful little ecclesiastic edifice to replace the one that stood there 150 years ago.

There are very few Catholics in Castine, but on the beautiful day that inaugurated this re-entry of the Faith into its own, great numbers of people came from the adjacent resorts to take part in the ceremony and, of course, very many of whom, though not children of the Church, came to witness the unusual spectacle; one of the most striking features of which was the picturesque group of Abenaki who came in feathers and war paint, with their wives and papooses from the intensely Catholic Indian settlement of Old Town which lies fifteen miles north of Bangor. They came not as in old times in canoes or by tramping along the trail, but in automobiles. Before the church ceremonies began, they executed a ceremonial dance in front of the platform, erected outside of the church and attracted the attention of every one by their reverential demeanor while the new church was being blessed, and by their close attention to the bishop and the writer, who recounted the tragedy of their race in the long past and their fidelity to the teachings of the Faith which they received with avidity when the missionaries first came among them. They fully deserved all that was said in their praise. They cannot make use of the new church, for Old Town is too far away, and, besides, they have a beautiful one of their own in that place, which never lacks worshippers at the altar. Our Lady of Holy Hope is, so to say, their gift to the white population which has succeeded them in what was once the Abenaki town of Pentagoet or Castine.

Toleration in Quebec.— Protestant and Jew paid high tribute to the tolerance of the Catholic majority in the Province of Quebec on the occasion of the introduction of a bill providing for the granting of \$190,000 towards the cost of administering the nineteen Catholic classical colleges in the province and \$40,000 for the four Protestant colleges. Quebec, according to a late census, has a population of 2,100,000 of whom 1,924,000 are Catholics.

The Provincial Secretary, Hon. A. David, in advocating the passage of the bill, expressed the pleasure felt by the government in making the grant to the Protestant colleges, adding that he believed that this was a good answer to the charge made in neighboring province that the funds voted for education in Quebec were not equally distributed.

W. S. Bullock, of Shefford, declared that the Protestant minority ap-

preciated very highly the generosity of the government in granting them \$40,000, and said they would do their best to distribute it among their colleges to advantage.

Equally enthusiastic in his praise was Peter Bercovitch, who declared that if the Jewish people had the privilege of having one of their own in the House to participate in its deliberations and to help in a small degree in framing the laws, it was due almost entirely to the spirit of tolerance, equality and justice that had been inculcated by the classical colleges of Quebec in the minds of the great men of the Province. He said he wanted to voice to the people of the province the fact that the 75,000 inhabitants belonging to his race were extremely grateful to the classical colleges because throughout the province the Jew lived in peace and harmony and on equal terms with all other races and creeds.

The grant, said M. Sauvé, leader of the Opposition, would benefit all classes of society and would assist in the amelioration and expansion of the population. From classical colleges, he said, come men who put their talents at the service of their country and directed the affairs of state. In the present day, he said, life was becoming more and more difficult, the caprices and laxity of modernism were more numerous and their teachers had need of all the aid that could be given them to assure that their education should be pure and modest and all that was necessary to fight the evils that were so seriously affecting society.

An Institute of Thomistic Philosophy in Cologne.—Cologne has been definitely selected as the home of a great institute for the teaching of Thomistic philosophy, and a considerable part of the fund for the institute has been subscribed. The late Holy Father himself was one of the contributors, and he gave his special blessing to the undertaking. Cardinal Archbishop Schulte is credited with the suggestion for establishing this institute in which are to be trained the youth as well as the priests of Germany.

The restoration of the scholastic philosophy of the great Aquinas under Leo XIII had important results even in Germany. In the universities having Catholic theological faculties, scholastic philosophy was made the basis of theological study. Professor Stoecker, of the Muenster University in Westphalia, won much attention by his revival of the Aristotelian philosophy.

While the study of philosophy in the majority of German Universities has been confined to a methodical presentation of the various philosophical systems, the new institute will be devoted to the search for truth and the recognition of truth. It will equip students to do independent, safe work, and will guide them through the desert of materialistic and pantheistic teachings which have so thoroughly permeated the educational institutions of Germany, including the intermediate schools.

Catholicism in New York.— It is a fact of no little interest and pride to citizens of Irish extraction that the first colonial governor of New

York and the first to declare religious toleration for all was an Irishman and a Catholic. Thomas Dongan was born of an old and honored Irish family in Kildare in 1634. He was a relative of the famous Earl of Tyrconnell and by his own talents and bravery won high distinction under Charles II and James II of England.

At the time of Governor Dongan's appointment the Province of New York was under the proprietary government of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. As the administration of his deputies proved unsatisfactory, it was resolved to place the government of the Province in the hands of some experience and able statesman and General Thomas Dongan was chosen for the position. His commission was dated September 30, 1682.

Governor Dongan arrived at New York in August, 1683. His duties were rendered most delicate and embarrassing by the previous bad government, and by the fact that he himself was a professed and zealous Catholic, while the community whose destinies he was commissioned to guide was almost without exception Protestant, and at that time peculiarly inclined to look with distrust and hatred upon all followers of the ancient Faith.

But difficulties vanished before the enlightened policy and winning manners of Governor Dongan. He first organized his council, which was composed of gentlemen of the Dutch Reformed and English Churches. Catholics, however, were no longer excluded from office, or from the practice of their religion. The governor had a chapel in which himself, his suite, his servants and all the Catholics of the province could attend Divine Service. A Jesuit Father, who accompanied him from England, was chaplain.

On October 17, 1683, Governor Dongan convoked the first General Assembly of New York, and the first act of that body was a charter of liberties declaring that "no person or persons who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall at any time be any ways molested, punished or disquieted; but that all and every such person or persons may, from time to time, and at all times, freely have and fully enjoy his or their judgments or consciences in matters of religion, throughout all the province."

This was the first memorable enactment passed by the first Legislative Assembly, which was presided over by the first Catholic Governor of New York; and that at a time when toleration was unknown in the Protestant colonies—at a time when a Catholic would be hunted like a criminal in Virginia or Massachusetts.

Father Grisar's Studies on Luther.—*Luther-Studien* is the title of a new series of publications started by Rev. Hartmann Grisar, S.J., the author of the monumental six-volume work on the life of the Reformer. While F. Grisar proposes to embody in them the results of the latest investigations made by himself and others, his principal aim is to discuss questions relating to Luther in their bearing upon present-day Lutheranism. "Since

the German Revolution the governments have withdrawn from the several state churches of our separated brethren, and these are now busy with the erection of independent church organizations. This arduous task gives rise to urgent problems as to the character of Luther and the origin and unity of Christianity at large. It is therefore attempted to place before Catholic and Protestant readers an unmistakable answer to the question whether Luther is fit to be the intellectual guide in the labyrinth of doubts."

So far two booklets have been issued, the first treating, in ninety octavo pages, of the appearance of Luther before Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms; the second taking up the discussion of a very prominent feature in Luther's fight against Catholicism, namely, the use of the cartoon.

The "Flame Signal" of Wittenberg.—Until recently we have been learning, and teaching too, that on Dec. 10, 1520, Luther publicly threw the papal bull, by which the excommunication was inflicted on him, into a bonfire, and that incidentally also a copy of Canon Law and some works of scholastic theology shared the same fate. A closer inspection of the sources shows that this version needs some revision. In the first pamphlet of his *Luther-Studien*, F. Grisar, who in his large work on Luther, treated this event rather briefly, gives a more detailed description and appreciation of it. The main points are the following.

On December 10, early in the morning, a notification appeared on the bulletin board of the University of Wittenberg, inviting those students "devoted to evangelical truth" to assemble at nine A. M. in a certain locality outside the city before the Elster Gate. The place designated was commonly used to burn the clothes of the poor victims of pestilential diseases, who had died in the neighboring "Pest-House." The purpose of the gathering, the notification ran, was to give to the flames the books of the popish law (Canon Law) and the works of scholastic theology. This it was stated would be the appropriate answer to the burning of Luther's "pious and evangelical works." The Bull of Excommunication did not figure in this appeal.

The students assembled in large crowds. But it seems that only three members of the teaching staff of the University were present, namely, Melanchthon, Carlstadt, and Agricola. The whole Faculty of Jurisprudence strongly disapproved of the proceeding.

Under the assistance of "one not unrenowned professor," presumably Melanchthon, a big pyre had been prepared and the condemned books placed upon it. The books were: the Body of Canon Law, the *Summa Angelica* (a widely used handbook on the administration of the Sacrament of Penance), and several works written against Luther by his great antagonists John Eck and Jerome Emser. The *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the works of Duns Scotus could not be obtained,

the owners refusing to part with their precious copies for such a purpose.

Amid the loud jeers of the young spectators the pyre was lit. When it was fully in flames, Luther threw also a copy of the Bull of Excommunication into the fire, pronouncing "a solemn condemnation" which the crowd listened to in silence: Because thou hast troubled the truth of God, the Lord trouble thee to-day by this fire, Amen!—an utterance similar to that of Josue, 'because thou hast troubled us, the Lord trouble thee this day.' (Jos. 7, 25.) The students repeated, 'Amen.' Accompanied by admirers Luther returned to the city.

We have been accustomed to look upon the fire before the Elster Gate of Wittenberg more or less as a spiteful act of personal revenge against the author of the Bull of Excommunication. It was much more in reality. Uppermost in Luther's mind was the open renunciation of the whole Church legislation, and of the entire ecclesiastical system. The burning of one particular papal document which concerned Luther personally, was a side issue, though probably not merely an afterthought. Luther meant to destroy his ships behind him, to announce to the world that the future was to be built upon another foundation, that the old ties which had kept the world together for centuries were to be rent, and a new order of things to be established. The "Flame Signal" before the Elster Gate, raised by a man who was both exceedingly proud and conscious of the assistance of powerful sympathizers, was the solemn declaration of war against the entire Christian past of Germany, Europe, and the world.

The "White International."— Walter Littlefield in the *New York Times* of February 12 has an article under this caption which is most informative, and we reproduce it, in part:

When Pope Pius XI appeared on the balcony over the main entrance of the Bascilica of San Pietro and blessed the people kneeling beneath, he resumed a contact with the Eternal City and with the world which had been broken since the days of Pius IX. And many of those seeing him thus and hearing his words believed that in this way he proclaimed a new International, the White International.

Most people have heard about the Red International and the death and ruin it has wrought in Russia and the death and ruin it would have wrought everywhere; many know about the Green International promoted by the peasant Premier of Bulgaria, Stambolisky: some may have heard of the "White International" established by the reactionary royalists best typified by the message sent by Emperor Charles of Austria to the King of Rumania to keep his nation from joining the Entente in the war: "We Kings should stand together."

The new White International, however, is now known to few, but already it has been the victim of false testimony. It is likely

to play an important part in the world history both on the side of law and order and on that of improving the conditions of the world's workers; not by destroying classes, but by reconciling them for the benefit of all.

It is necessary, on account of the aspersions cast upon it, first to show what the new White International is not, before attempting to demonstrate what it really is.

The body of the late Pope was scarcely cold in its coffin before certain academic or parlor Bolshevik journals attempted to demonstrate that, through the indulgence of Benedict XV., the White International was more to be feared than the Red, and that it meditated quite the same thing by means of a world revolution. In order to do this they cited what purported to be the program of the Partito Popolare Congress at Naples adopted in April, 1920, and attempted to reveal the Communist affiliations of the founder of the Partito Popolare, or Italian Catholic Popular Party, with the Communists.

As a matter of fact, the revolutionary program at Naples was merely a minority resolution put forward by Guido Miglioli and defeated there, while the resolution which actually established the program of the party was introduced by Filippo Meda of Milan and was adopted. Moreover, the alleged affiliation of the founder of the party, Don Luigi Sturzo, with the Reds is only to be found in the coincidence that one of the charitable enterprises with which he is connected bears a name which contains the Italian word for "commune."

The whole history of the Catholic Popular Party in Italy and its present development into the White International, clearly reveals that its first objective was the destruction of the Red International, which threatened the State and monarchy of Italy, and then to combat its growing influence elsewhere before its constructive work set forth in the majority resolution of the Naples Congress could be successfully undertaken; peace between recognized classes for mutual benefit. And, as we shall see, traditional patriotism was to play a large role in bringing about this situation.

There is no doubt of this; one of the chief expounders of the objects of the Popular Party, Gaetano di Felice, has shown in his "Cattolici e Patriotti" (Catholics and Patriots) that, in Italy at least, devotion to the church and a sublime faith in religion inspired heroic deeds in the war much oftener than a negation of these things even though sustained by a conscious and calculated material adhesion to "La Patria."

This is not the first time that practical Catholics have attempted to bridge the abyss which at various times has separated, or has seemed to separate, the historic, aristocratic spectacular mother church from the practical needs, interests and aspirations

of its lowly children. There was the Christian Democratic movement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which coming into birth in France and Belgium, became a political force in Germany and Austria, and for this reason was denounced by the Church; and this denunciation became more vehement when, in France and Italy, it ignored the authority of the Vatican and openly affiliated with Social Democracy in order to attain its ends.

And the same fate might have been that of the new movement had Benedict XV. been less indulgent toward the local organizations of Italian Catholics out of which it grew, less apprehensive of the Bolshevik doctrines which were threatening not only Italy but the world.

As Minerva sprang fully armed from the head of Jove, so the Popular Party came fully organized into being in January, 1919, and in the elections of the following November seated 101 Deputies, and henceforth held with the Socialists and their 156 seats the balance of power. All this was possible because times had changed since 1870, when Pius IX. had strictly enforced the decree prohibiting Catholics from being either electors or Parliamentary candidates. Under Leo XIII. this inhibition was, at first, firmly enforced, for the republican tendencies of the world were deemed dangerous to the Church, but from 1886 on the Pope and his Secretary of State, the admirable Cardinal Rampolla, came to the conclusion that there was more danger to the Church in imperial, material Germany and Austria than there was in sentimental Republican France, and began to act accordingly. Pius X., in spite of his Ultramontane policy, formulated by his Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, allowed Catholics to vote for non-Catholic candidates, who pledged themselves to refrain from legislation condemned by the Church. And then in January, 1919, anticipating the formation of the Popular Party, Benedict XV. removed the entire inhibition, allowing Catholics not only to vote but to stand for election and to hold portfolios in the Cabinet.

Had the Pope been discouraged by the elections in the following autumn, by the obvious union between the Catholic extremists and the Socialists, which undoubtedly contributed to bring about the Socialist gain of seventy-six seats in the Chamber, the fate of the Partito Popolare might have been that of Christian Democracy. But he was not discouraged even though the Catholics declined portfolios in the Nitti Cabinet and a combination of Catholics and Socialists brought about its fall on June 9, 1920.

Then the organizers of the Popular Party, on a hint from the Vatican, set forth to purge the party of its obnoxious elements. They succeeded so well that in the elections of May 15, 1921, although the Popular Party gained only six seats, the Socialists lost thirty-three—still, the change in the political situation in

favor of law and order cannot be entirely attributed to the efforts of the Popular leaders. There were the Fascisti.

With the Ministry of Giolitti which came into power on June 15, two organization Catholics occupied portfolios: Filippo Meda, the Treasury; Giuseppe Micheli, Agriculture. With the exit of Meda a few months later Giulio Rodino joined the Cabinet as Minister of Justice. On the resignation of Giolitti's Cabinet over a year later and the advent of the Reformist, Ivanoe Bonomi, Rodino still retained the portfolio of Justice, while Micheli was transferred to that of Public Works, and another Catholic leader, who was also Vice President of the Chamber, Angelo Mauri, took the portfolio of Agriculture. All retained them until the resignation of the Bonomi Government on Feb. 2 last when the Freemasons among the Liberal Democrats, fearful lest the concessions it had made to the Vatican should, when entertained with a Pope as liberal as Benedict XV. had been, mean a return to Papal dominance. Of paramount influence in this crisis was the proclaimed desire of the Popular Party for just such a Pope. But in Pius XI. there is a Pontiff who, while ready to continue the policy of his predecessor in regard to the Roman Question and even to welcome the initiative from the Italian Government for peace, is also adverse to mixing Church administration with civil politics, except where the Church can exert a moral force in supporting the constituted civil authorities in the execution of the laws and in the maintenance of order.

It is something not usually realized that in a war between nations, just as in a conflict between classes, the modern Church has always been on the side of peace and order. The most proficient organization in the world, it is absurd to imagine that it could ever favor revolution, for its very foundations rest upon peaceful, organized society. It is the inveterate enemy of anarchy and disorganization, however. There can be no doubt of that. Nor is there any doubt that it takes all legitimate measures to extend the number and influence of its own organizations, within the law of the countries where they happen to be situated and even to advise their expansion abroad.

On information submitted by the new Pope, then Papal Nuncio at Warsaw, Benedict XV. ordered a special mass for the relief of Poland to be celebrated at the Church of the Gesu, Rome, in August, 1920. In a letter addressed to the Cardinal Vicar on that occasion he thus stigmatized Russian Bolshevism:

"Hence, not only for the sake of Poland, but for the sake of all Europe, does the Holy Father desire that all people shall unite in imploring God to spare Poland a new calamity and rescue Europe, already exhausted, from a new extermination."

In the same month, on the 28th, in an address to the visiting Knights of Columbus from the United States, he said that the

Knights should think of spreading "their sphere of action outside the confines of their own beloved country."

It is extremely doubtful whether Benedict XV. would have consented to the formation of the Popular Party and have removed the political inhibition of Catholic subjects of the King of Italy had he not realized that the Bolshevik menace was a real danger. So in less than twenty-four hours on the news of his new policy a large number of organizations, some already recognized by the Church and some not, were moulded into a formidable body politic. Immediate recruits from the masses were necessary and it was not always possible to separate the sheep from the goats; then, too, in the agricultural districts, where the Church had its greatest religious strength, it was found that large bodies of peasants had become victims of the Red International, and had resorted to the Reds' example of force. Minds there were also who could not draw a distinction between the rational program of Meda and the revolutionary program of Miglioli.

The man to whom more than any other the Popular Party owes its organization is Don Luigi Sturzo, a Sicilian priest. Born at Caltagirone, in 1871, he early became one of the leaders of the Christian Democratic movement, until that movement became impregnated with Socialism and was discouraged by the Church. For several years he was the "reform" Mayor of his native city. He then turned to local Communism, a species not unlike the Government of New England towns by town meetings, and was made Secretary General of the *Associazione dell Associazione dei Comuni Italiani*; after the war he promoted the Association for the Civil and Religious Assistance of War Orphans. In January, 1919, he became the Secretary General of the Popular Party.

Signori Meda, Mauri, Micheli and Rodino have been mentioned as members of that party holding portfolios in the last two Governments. Filippo Meda of Milan is 53 years old. As publisher and editor he has been successsively connected with several Catholic journals—the *Osservatore Cattolico*, the *Unione*, and the *Italia*. As deputy from Milan, and with the advice of Mgr. Ratti, now Pius XI., he organized the Parliamentary forces of the Popular Party in the Summer of 1919, although then these forces were distributed among the non-Catholic parties. He is a man possessing a vast amount of parliamentary experience; before the organization of the Catholic Party, he had held portfolios in the Boselli and Orlando Cabinets as a non-partisan. He was also President of the Provincial Council of Milan.

Angelo Mauri is the best hated by the Socialists of any of the Catholic members in the Chamber. He is the author of many books on land conservation and agricultural economics. Before

he took the portfolio of Agriculture he was often the storm centre in the Chamber, for there was no statistician among the Socialists who could successfully cope with him. In the threatening days of December, 1919, his unceasing cry was: "The country needs peace and work. The way to have peace and work is to establish them. Let us all labor to that end." At which the Socialists cried in derision: "Viva il Papa-Re"! (Long live the Pope-King!)

Giuseppe Micheli was born 48 years ago in the Castelnuovo region of the mountains of Emilia, and has been a Deputy since 1908. He is also a friend of the present Pope through the Society of Alpinists, known as *La Giovane Montagna*. He is President of the association of "Nicolo Tommasso," and among the Parmense Mountains has organized many societies for credit, labor and the distribution of products. As Secretary of the Meda Parliamentary group he is just now much in the public eye. It was Signor Micheli who organized the peasants against the revolutionary Miglioli syndicalists.

Giulio Rodino, like Meda, is also a Minister of other days. He comes from Naples and, before the organization of the Popular Party was very high in the counsels of *Circolo Cattolico per gl' interessi di Napoli* (the Catholic Club for Neopolitan Interests), of which the Marchese di Sangineto was President until his death in 1913.

Although practically all the catholic papers of Italy support the Popular Party, still it has its official organ, the *Popolo Nuovo*, edited by Commendatore Giulio Seganti. A prominent writer for its columns is an Umbrian lawyer, the Marchese Filippo Crispolti, who has also edited various Catholic journals in Turin and Rome, and now the *Cittadino* of Genoa. He is also the President of the *Unione Romana*, a powerful intellectual group in the Eternal City.

In this group of intellectuals and nobles is the Conte Bartolomeo Pietromarchi, a member of the Noble Pontifical Guard and President General of the *Unione Popolare fra i Cattolici d'Italia* (the Popular Union Among Italian Catholics).

And among other Catholic organizations which have supported the Popular Party with the approval of the Vatican are the *Cicolo San Pietro* (St. Peter's Club) and the *Giunta Diocesana* (the Diocesan Society), both of Rome and both presided over by Commendatore Paolo Croci; and the *Società della Gioventù Cattolica Italiana* (Society of Catholic Italian Youth), whose President is Commendatore Paolo Percoli, and one of whose patrons is Senator Count Giovanni Grosoli Pironi. The Vice President of this society is the Roman Deputy Egilberto Martire, a forceful, enthusiastic man of 35; a well-known lawyer and publicist and recognized by all as the coming man in the Popular

Party, his sentiment in regard to his country may be judged from the fact that during the war he edited and supported, practically from his own pocket, *Mentre, si Combatté*—Meanwhile, We Fight.

The Ambrosian Library.— Among the noteworthy tributes of Pope Pius XI, that have appeared from non-Catholic writers is one from the pen of Alexander Robertson, a well known Presbyterian minister of Scotland. Writing in the *Scotsman*, Dr. Robertson reviews with singular insight, and a graceful style, the Holy Father's early life and labors, and applauds the felicitous choice of Pope Pius XI by the Sacred College to the exalted dignity of the Papacy.

Referring to the present Sovereign Pontiff's work in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the writer furnishes a description of this famous library and of the herculean labors accomplished there by the then Dr. Ratti in classifying and cataloguing the priceless treasures of one of the world's greatest collections of books.

"All travellers to Milan" writes Dr. Robertson, "know the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. It is one of the sights of the city. It was founded by Cardinal Borromeo in 1609; so it has existed over 300 years and each year new books are added to it. At present its twenty rooms contain nearly 200,000 volumes, some 8500 manuscripts, a collection of classic pictures, many rare engravings, and a small museum of antiquities. Among the manuscripts are fragments of a fourth century illustrated Homer, the precious Peshito, second century Bible in Syriac, and Syro-Hexapla, the Bible in six versions, a palimpsest of the fifth century of the Epistles of St. Paul, a Josephus on papyrus of the same century, fragments of Ulfila's Gothic translation of the Bible, the works of Virgil with Petrarch's notes, the Libro d'Oro of Milan, and letters by Borromeo, Ariosto, Tasso, Galileo and others."

When Dr. Ratti was appointed librarian he set to work to house these treasures in durable cases and to make them accessible to the scholars of the world. "Securing the services of some able and scholarly librarians" writes Dr. Robertson, "in a few years the stupendous work was accomplished which confers a benefit today on all who frequent the library.

"The books in the various rooms are now well catalogued, so that any book asked for, is forthcoming without delay. In the Sala Antica, the central and original hall of the library, there are rows of mahogany cases with glass covers. In these all the rare manuscripts are exposed to the view of the visitors, who can also obtain permission to examine them.

"Rare books, historical letters, and so forth, are arranged in other cases. The examination and classification of the books afforded Dr. Ratti the opportunity of doing good work also as an annotator and commentator. Accordingly articles appeared from time to time in the *Rendiconto del Istituto Lombardo*, in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, and the *Archivio Storico Lombardo*. He also in conjunction with Msgr. Magistretti published a volume entitled "Missale Ambrosianum."

A mass of literature is rapidly accumulating about the life and works of Pope Pius XI. It all serves to confirm even more strongly the wisdom and providential guidance of the Sacred Conclave in selecting for Sovereign Pontiff, a scholar of profound erudition, a priest of exalted spirituality, and a diplomat and administrator of tried and tested experience.

A Summa in English.— The English Dominican Fathers are nearing the end of their bold undertaking, the translation into English of St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*. The latest number to be published (Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 12s.) contains the questions numbered 69-86 of the *Supplement*, which treat of the condition of the soul after death, of prayers for the dead, of the end of the world, of the resurrection, and the state and qualities of the risen body. This volume, therefore, deals with many matters that are keenly debated at the present day, and that are, or certainly will be, of great personal interest to everyone.

Although all these questions which are printed in the *Supplement* are taken from St. Thomas' earlier work, the *Commentary on the Sentences*, they exhibit the same keenness, insight, and sobriety as distinguish all he wrote, and in such matters as those here discussed these qualities form a remarkable contrast to the fantastic inanities proclaimed as a new revelation by modern Spiritualists. Even when it happens that his physical science is at fault, as in two or three articles in this volume, there is little or nothing in his theological conclusions that either needs or is capable of correction.

Denys Cochin.—The New York *Times* in an editorial says:

"In the history of the Third Republic it is doubtful whether a more impressive funeral has been held than that of Denys Cochin at Saint-François-Xavier, on March 27. Cardinal Dubois, Archbishop of Paris, was assisted by the Apostolic Nuncio, Mgr. Cerretti, and a host of Monseigneurs and Vicars-General. The President of the Republic was represented and the Presidents of the Council, Senate and Chamber were there in person, together with most of the Ministers of State.

Denys Cochin, member of the Academy, former Minister of State, former Deputy from the Seine, was born in the dying days of the Second Republic, Sept. 1, 1851, just three months before the coup d'état of "Napoleon le Petit." The war of 1870 interrupted his studies in international and ecclesiastical law, which were later to be exchanged for scientific research with Pasteur and Schutzenberger. After the Commune he went up to the University of Paris for his degree. "You write pretty poor Greek," said the great Egger, who occupied the chair of that language at the Sorbonne "but I perceive you wear the Military Medal. You may proceed to your degree."

In the second year of the World War, Premier Briand brought Cochin from his seclusion, and as Minister of State he sat with

Dr. Emile Combes, his inveterate enemy of the old days of the Separation law. In the Autumn of 1916 he was sent to Athens. Although he failed with King Constantine, he was victorious with Benedict XV. two years later, when he went to the Vatican and paved the way for the resumption of diplomatic relations between it and the Quai d'Orsay. It has been said of Baron Denys Cochin that, because he believed that the obnoxious Concordat should be negotiated out of existence and not denounced by one party, he was a better Frenchman than he was a Catholic. But Leo XIII. and Cardinal Rampolla thought as he did, and only the horrid din of the Dreyfus case prevented them from being heard. Nor can he be considered a better Parisian that he was a Frenchman, although he always emphasized his Parisian birth.

He declined to be returned to the Chamber in 1920, but in his retirement he was still pointed out as a man with vision. Once in a heated debate over the Associations law a Deputy demanded why he believed the project of law should be denounced. He quickly replied with uplifted eyes: "I do not believe. I see."—*Je ne crois pas. Je vois.* He is said to have been in the same state of spiritual exaltation just before he heard that he had lost two of his three sons in battle.

African Popes.— The *Southwest Review*, one of the various papers published for and by the colored race in the United States points with no little pride, in a leading editorial to the following item, which is headed: "Three African Popes in Roman Catholic Church:"

There were three African Popes. St. Victor I, who occupied the Chair of St. Peter from 192 to 203. He was the first among ecclesiastical authors to use Latin, all before him having written Greek. He was Victor in deed as well as name, having died for the Faith. St. Melchiades was Pope from 311 to 313, occupying the Chair for two years. St. Gelasius was Pope from 492 to 496. He declared what were the sacred books in the Old and New Testament and instituted the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was a model of purity, zeal and simplicity.

Like the great light of the Church, St. Augustine, these illustrious Pontiffs were, to our best knowledge, certainly all Africans. "Three times, says the writer, "Africans have occupied St. Peter's Chair, the highest honor of the Roman Catholic Church, with the largest membership of any Church in the world." In regard to Pope St. Gelasius I, it is not quite certain whether he was merely of African origin or African by birth. Both interpretations are given to the brief statement, *natione Afer*, in the "Liber Pontificalis." In either case, however, he is clearly described as an African. During the pontificate of St. Melchiades, often written Miltiades (310 or 311 to January, 314), took place the Donatist controversy regarding the African episcopate, when Caecilian was con-

firmed as Bishop of Carthage in the synod held in the Lateran Palace, October 2, 313.

A Distinguished German Bishop.— One of the most notable of the Catholic Bishops in Germany passed away recently by the death of Mgr. Michael Felix Korum, Bishop of Trèves. He will be long remembered as a great worker in a famous see, for Trèves itself has been for fifteen centuries a place of pilgrimage on account of the celebrated relic of the Holy Coat, said to have been given to the cathedral by St. Helena. Mgr. Korum was by birth an Alsatian, his native town being Wickerschweier, in Upper Alsace, where he was born in 1840. He was ordained in 1865, and became Bishop of Trèves in 1881, thus having an episcopal rule of forty years. Previous to his election he had held the position of professor at the seminary of Zillesheim, and was afterwards professor, cathedral-preacher, and Administrator at Strasburg.

Bishop Korum, from the time of his appointment to the see, devoted himself whole-heartedly and with unremitting labour to repairing the injury which had resulted from the "Kulturkampf" laws, and reviving the religious life. Distinguished by extra-ordinary talents, he won the regard of high and low alike. He was a paternal friend of his colleagues in the priesthood, an affectionate protector of monastic associations, a defender of Catholic schools, and keenly interested in social questions and the rights of the people. Under his administration the number of souls in the diocese of Trèves increased by half a million, five hundred new churches were built, fifty presbyteries erected, and the cathedral completely restored. Among the important events of his episcopate were the Catholic Congress of 1887, the exhibition of the Holy Coat in 1891, and the sixth International Marian Congress in 1912.

Many honours came to Mgr. Korum during his long life besides the dignity of his bishopric. He was an assistant at the Pontifical Throne, a domestic prelate, and a Roman count, and as a personal privilege he received the pallium. Among orders in which he held knighthoods or other distinctions were the Order of Malta, the Prussian Order of the Crown, and the Order of the Red Eagle. He was awarded also the Iron Cross of the first and second classes, and the Red Cross medal, and was a Freeman of the city of Trèves. The feast days of the Bishop, his sacerdotal golden jubilee in 1915, and the fortieth anniversary of his consecration, were days of festivity throughout the diocese.

The Palestine Problem.— The *London Tablet* says:

Much that has been published during the last week or two has served to direct fresh attention to the situation in Palestine. But it has done more; for it has also shown that the widespread anxiety felt concerning the Jewish national home policy is only too well founded. After the statement made on first-hand knowledge last week by so warm a supporter of Zionist ideals as Lord Northcliffe, it is useless for anyone to contend that all is well in the Holy Land, or that the present policy can be pursued

without revision. Even under the unspeakable Turk the people were so contented and tranquil that a guard of 400 soldiers was sufficient to keep peace and order. Now the Geddes Committee Report shows that we have three cavalry and two infantry regiments there, at a cost of over four millions, which is exclusive of the expenditure on naval and air force work. The roads have to be patrolled by armoured cars and aeroplanes, and a large police force is also at work. Confronted with such facts as these, Lord Northcliffe has roundly declared that he was "profoundly disappointed and profoundly impressed by the unhappy state of the formerly peaceful Palestine," and that "the real situation is apparently not generally known in England." Indeed, so widely have his eyes been opened by his personal investigations on the spot and his interrogation of some 200 people of all classes, faiths and nationalities, that he gives it as his opinion that "unless the situation be firmly dealt with, and greater respect shown for the 700,000 Palestinian Moslems and Christians, the country runs the risk of becoming a second Ireland." Here we have at once an indication of the cause of the disaffection that is rampant, and of the measure of the danger that impends if the cause be not removed. And clearly it is the duty of the Government to remove such a cause of disaffection, both in the interests of Palestine itself and also of this country, which has to shoulder the responsibility for its continuance and pay the bill for its outbreaks.

That the Government are aware of the origin of the disaffection was clear from Mr. Churchill's admission last year that "the only cause of unrest in Palestine arose from the Zionist movement and from our promises and pledges in regard to it." Unfortunately, however, he at the same time dismissed the fears of the Arab population that they were going to be displaced in favour of immigrant Jews and to be placed under a Jewish control as "quite illusory." Here, plainly, he was speaking without the book, and outside the evidence which was even then to hand and has since accumulated. The Balfour declaration which initiated the policy of making Palestine a Jewish national home, ill-considered as it was, did at least put forward the condition that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities." But the Zionists and those to whom the work of making the country a Jewish national home was entrusted paid more heed to the policy than to this proviso of justice towards the resident population. The story is well known. The extreme Zionists declared that Palestine was to be made a Jewish State, "as Jewish as England is English"; and, as if to corroborate such a declaration, every facility was given for the immigration of Jews from the ghettos of Central Europe, with insufficient regard to their fitness or adaptability to their new prospects, and every assistance was given to their settlement by the purchase of land on something more than favoured terms and conditions; whilst Jewish officials were multiplied in undue proportion. Such facts as these, and they are merely a few among many, were amply sufficient to arouse alarm and resentment among the resident population, whether Moslem or Christian. Such feelings were

rather increased than diminished by the appointment as High Commissioner of a Jew, whom the Zionists foolishly hailed as "the Prince of Israel." There is no smoke without fire, and reasons for the alarm of the Arabs have from time to time been given in the general press as well as in our own columns. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster long ago spoke a word of grave warning, which was afterwards corroborated by the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, who declared that the Zionists had "behaved and spoken as if the country had already been given to them and was theirs to dispose of as they would." Such talk, when supported by acts of discrimination against the resident Arabs and Christians, inevitably called forth alarm and indignant protest. A resident population overwhelmingly Arab and Christian could not possibly be expected to sit still under a policy that was working to their dispossession, and to their passing under control of an alien and imported race. Even the native Jews and those of the Rothschild colonies are opposed to "the pushful, grasping and domineering methods of the newly arrived Zionist Jews" and their abettors, and resent "as much as British residents what they describe as the arrogance and swagger of the new arrivals from the ghettos of Central Europe." This is Lord Northcliffe's testimony, and there can be no surprise when he adds that he had "ample evidence of the alarm felt by the overwhelming Moslem and Christian majority" that "Zionist Jews will completely occupy and control their country."

With all this before us it should be clear that this country, as the initiator of this Jewish national home policy and as the Mandatory Power for Palestine, has a heavy responsibility, both for the present and future of the Holy Land. At the best, the policy is one of doubtful prudence, and at less than best it has worked to the detriment of Palestine. As Colonel Vivian Gabriel put it in a striking article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January:—"A Zionism limited by the proviso of the Balfour Declaration and interpreted by British traditional fair play would doubtless have been possible had its own votaries been patient and given it a chance. But the ground has been spoiled, and the entire population is now grimly determined to have none of it at any cost whatever." Yet immigration, though slowed down under the pressure of circumstances, is continued, and in the last quarter of 1921 a full 25 per cent. of the Jewish immigrants did not enter as persons with means to live or with a definite prospect of employment. In December the number of such immigrants who were unemployed was about 2,000. Clearly, then, it is for the Government to proceed slowly and with greater circumspection. They cannot want to turn Palestine into a second Ireland, to set the heather on fire in the Moslem world, or to have to stand on guard indefinitely in so dangerous a neighbourhood. Would it not be better to postpone the framing of the Orders in Council for the government of the country, a first draft of which has been published, until a thorough investigation of the situation has been made? Such a complete, impartial and public investigation of the affairs of Palestine was suggested by the Arab Delegation on its arrival in this country, and it is all to the good that Lord Northcliffe has now come for-

ward with a strong recommendation of the same course. After all, it has to be remembered that Palestine lies within the limits of the Arab countries to which England in 1915 promised independence. If such investigation results in a recommendation for the revision of our policy in favour of the Arab demands, which seem to be both reasonable and in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, there should be no difficulty in carrying out what is necessary. Lord Allenby's action in regard to Egypt affords an apt and practical precedent.

An Important Educational Movement.— The January issue of *The Inter-University Magazine* announces that the federation of the University Catholic Societies of Great Britain has been effected and the final draft of a constitution of a Federation has received the assent of the societies concerned. The objects of the Federation are "to promote social intercourse between Catholics connected with Universities or University Colleges; to assist the formation of an educated Catholic opinion in matters of social, intellectual and political importance in relation to Catholic teaching, partly, at least, by the formation of groups in each University or University College, for the special study of social, economic, scientific, &c., topics; to create a panel of suitable lecturers upon such topics and a suitable literature." This is a large-minded and practical programme, which with the increased intercourse and the mutual encouragement and help fostered by it should be well within the ability of the various societies to carry out.

The *Magazine* has received a sympathetic letter from Sir Michael Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, in which he emphasizes two points which are part of the very purpose of the Catholic University Societies—co-operation and the importance of fundamental principles of life. After pointing out how the new Universities have learnt from the old and now realize the value of corporate life, Sir Michael proceeds: "Co-operation without compromise is feasible for us. We can be frank, and yet refrain from quarrelling. We of the Church of England have much to learn from personal intimacy with the living representatives of a high tradition. Whatsoever is best in our keeping should, if they are willing, be at others' service. Within the friendly walls of University life at any rate, we can find scope for amity which is not false to conviction. Since the war we have all been driven in thought back to fundamentals. More light about fundamentals, greater certainty about fundamentals, is what we long for. Whatever our faculty, we feel the same need. Intellectual guidance, very important though it be, will not give us all we seek. Spiritual guidance, tendered by men of deep experience, is needed also."

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